

TENSE, ASPECT, AND NARRATIVE ORGANIZATION
IN POLISH AND JAPANESE

By

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ABBREVIATIONS

SP	=	speaker's perspective (Iwasaki)
DF	=	discourse function (approach)
t/a	=	tense-aspect
p	=	perfective
i	=	imperfective
np	=	non-past perfective
ni	=	non-past imperfective
pp	=	past perfective,
pi	=	past imperfective.
np-perf	=	non-past perfective
np-imp	=	non-past imperfective
p-perf	=	past perfective,
p-imp	=	past imperfective.
p?	=	past (aspect undetermined)
<mod>	=	modal
<fi>	=	future (disjoint) imperfective
<c>	=	command
<part>	=	participle

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This study is concerned with the relationship between narrative structure and the use of tense-aspect forms. Two quite different languages, Polish and Japanese, are investigated and compared.

There is morphological/syntactic/semiological (distributional) evidence for three types of text function in narrative structure: plot, description, and background.

Plot clauses advance the plot line of a narrative and are the backbone of the story. Description clauses provide supplementary material about the setting, describing the physical locus of the action, the physical condition of the participants, their states of mind, etc. Clauses of the third type, background, represent events and situations

which are temporally displaced. They are usually subordinated grammatically and always subordinated semantically to clauses of the other two types. When subordinated to plot, they recount a peripheral plot event (i.e. something that can be accorded a distinct temporal slot relative to the plot line but which is not on the central plot line). When subordinated to description, they provide some information about the physical locus, etc. But, unlike the normal description, background clauses communicate some event, the result of which is what pertains to the description. Background clauses are the least commonly occurring type in a typical narrative.

Two narratives, one from each language, and subsequent surveys taken among native speakers provide the data for the analyses conducted here. The Polish narrative was a relatively long, spontaneous oral narrative, while the Japanese narrative was a short portion of a written essay.

It was determined that there is a markedness relation between tense-aspect forms and the three discourse functions. With each function, there was a form or forms likely to occur and others which were unlikely to occur.

The distribution of the tense-aspect forms also gave preliminary indications of a narrative structure that accommodates substories. Relationships between tense-aspect forms and substory representation need further investigation.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preliminary Remarks

There can be no doubt that Polish and Japanese are very different languages, but they have some things in common. Among their shared characteristics are two features which are of interest in this work. They both have elements which are marked for tense and aspect,¹ and narrative discourse structure exists in both. Here we examine how tense-aspect (hereafter t/a) forms provide cohesion in narrative structure.

Previous work with Russian written narrative (Bogdan: 1984) describes a tripartite organization of narrative based on the discourse function of the individual clause. Each discourse function has an unmarked t/a form associated with it. The t/a systems of Russian and Polish are quite similar, even parallel. In this study we use a spontaneous oral story to determine whether the written Russian structure holds with spoken Polish narrative. Turning to Japanese, we look at a portion of a written narrative to establish whether there is any basis for such a narrative organization in a non-Slavic language.

1.2 Narrative and Narrative Structure

The general conception of a narrative is "a story of events, experiences, or the like."² Our view is somewhat similar. A narrative should have a starting point (initial state) and a series of events or acts,

optionally interspersed with medial states, leading up to the conclusion (final state).

The typical narrative consists of both events and states, but shorter ones can consist solely of one or the other. For example, (1.1) is a one-clause narrative with a single event.

(1.1) I taught a linguistics class yesterday.

Notice that the clause represents an event. In Example (1.2), there is a single-clause narrative describing a state.

(1.2) It was hot yesterday.

Examples (1.3) and (1.4) give expanded versions of (1.1) and (1.2), respectively.

(1.3) Yesterday, I arrived at school at 8:15, taught a linguistics class, from 8:30 to 10:00, returned directly to my office, and left for home at 10:30.

(1.4) Even though it was 8:30 in the morning, the classroom was like a sauna. The temperature was 93 with over 90% humidity. Being next to the bulb of the overhead projector didn't help. I was sweating so badly, my sweat was dripping onto the transparencies and making the ink run. The students were wilting in their chairs. Not much in the way of imparting knowledge was actually taking place. Everyone wanted the class to end as early as possible.

Example (1.3) consists solely of event clauses, with the order of the clauses matching the order of the events in the world represented in the narrative. The clauses in (1.4) describe only states. This could be a stand-alone descriptive narrative, incorporating a number of simultaneous or overlapping states which together report the general state of the classroom. Such extended homogeneous narratives are

possible, of course, but there are limits to their length. Eventually, they become rather monotonous. The usual narrative pattern has a blend of both kinds of clauses.

Even this mix of iconically ordered events and states is simplistic. Text time, or story time,³ is a verbal representation of actual time, not actual time itself. It is necessarily linear; clauses have to follow one another, whether in written form or in speech flow. There are, however, disruptions in the correlation between text time and real time when a narrative contains more than one story-line. Such disruptions are termed anachronies.⁴ One example of such an anachrony occurs when there is a portion of a narrative which is related at a point later than its position in the real-time plot-line. For example, in Example (1.3), someone might question the narrator's arrival at the school just 15 minutes prior to a class. Modifying the narrative and inserting (1.5) would provide background information to allay such a concern

(1.5) I had prepared for the class the night before.

giving the following altered narrative.

(1.6) Yesterday, I arrived at school at 8:15 and taught a linguistics class, from 8:30 to 10:00. I had prepared for the class the night before. I then returned directly to my office and left for home at 10:30.

Similarly, a chronologically earlier event could be backgrounded to a clause relating a state. For example, Example (1.7) could be used to explain the high humidity related in the descriptive narrative in Example (1.4).

(1.7) It had rained earlier in the morning.

There are, therefore, three types of clauses in narrative: clauses relating events in the natural, iconic order; clauses relating states simultaneous to or overlapping events or other states; and, finally, clauses relating events which are anachronic. These three clause functions form the basis for the three-way discourse function approach to Russian narrative mentioned in Section 1.1. We intend to test this structure with data from Polish and Japanese. The three functions are termed "plot", "description", and "background", respectively, and are discussed in more detail in Section 2.7.

1.3 Content of the Study

Chapter 2 is an introduction to the situation in Polish. In it, we give a brief discussion of the t/a system followed by descriptions of discourse approaches to t/a use. The first approach discussed is the popular binary division of discourse into foreground and background. Following this, we present a modified three-way division into plot, description and background. It is this system based on three discourse functions that we test on the data.

Chapter 3 deals with Japanese. It first describes the t/a system, then presents previous literature dealing with t/a forms in a discourse context. There are three major works discussed: Soga (1983), Szatrowski (1985a & 1985b), and Iwasaki (1985 & 1988). Soga provides the same foreground/background division presented in Chapter 2. Szatrowski

concentrates on the relationship between t/a forms and a number of discourse/semantic features. Iwasaki establishes a relationship between epistemological perspective and t/a form use.

Chapters 4 and 5 are the analyses of the Polish and Japanese data. We look at factors influencing t/a choice and determine whether there is evidence for a three-way discourse structure in the narratives examined. With each language, the data consist of a narrative followed by a survey based on the narrative. There are some differences in the original narratives, however. As mentioned above, the Polish text is a oral narrative, while the Japanese narrative is an excerpt from a written essay. The Polish narrative is also substantially longer than the Japanese one. The surveys themselves, however, were conducted in a similar manner to each other.

Chapter 6 summarizes some general observations and conclusions based on the analyses presented in the two preceding chapters. It also gives suggestions for further research.

1.4 Notes

¹Among some linguists there is an ongoing argument of whether the **-ru** and **-ta** forms in Japanese are tense markers or aspect markers or both. We avoid this argument with regard to these two forms and simply assume that both categories exist.

²From *The Random House College Dictionary* (1975: 885). Onega and Landa (1996: 3) give a more detailed definition. They see the narrative as a representation of a series of events temporally and causally connected. Unfortunately, this definition overlooks the descriptive portions of the narrative.

³These terms are used in Toolan (1988: 48 -49).

⁴Genette (1980) in Toolan (1988: 49).

CHAPTER 2 TENSE AND ASPECT IN POLISH

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter is a discussion of tense, aspect, and *Aktionsart* and how they apply to Polish. Following this is a brief description of the tense-aspect system in Polish. The final portion of the chapter is devoted to a discourse approach to aspect, including a brief explanation of the foreground/background division of narrative suggested by Hopper (1979). Finally, we consider the possibilities of a structure more complex than Hopper's bipartite system.

2.2 Basic Concepts

2.2.1 Tense

We begin with the concept of verbal relative time. According to Comrie (1976), tense is a grammatical category relating the time of reference to the time of the utterance. Because it is a grammatical category, it should be distinguished from time, which is outside of language. Tense is derived through the interplay among three times: the time of speech (S), the time referred to (R), and the time that the event represented by the verb took place (E). Table 2.1 (Soga 1983: 6-13 and Binnick 1991: 316-317) shows how the past, present, and future tenses are derived from the relationships:

Table 2.1

Simple tense => R and E coincide (Following three examples)	
Past => R precedes S	I saw the sunrise yesterday.
Present => R coincides with S	I see the sunrise now.
Future => R follows S	I will see the sunrise tomorrow.
Complex tense => otherwise (Two following examples)	
Perfect => E precedes R	I have seen the sunrise.
Extended => E extends over R	I am watching the sunrise.
where:	S= speech time
R= reference time	
E= event time	

The term "coincide" in Table 2.1 does not denote equality, a fact which is quite clear in timeless sentences. Such sentences also provide evidence for the contention that tense does not equal time. An example of a timeless sentence is seen in Example (2.1).

(2.1) The sun rises in the east.

The verb is in the present tense, but it is not necessarily the case that the sun is actually rising at the moment of speech. The utterance could be made any time, even at midnight. Another example of the distinction between time and tense is the so-called historical present. This tense communicates events occurring in the past with verbs in the present tense. We see this use in English. In the data narratives there is non-past usage, but whether it is a historical present is discussed later.

Lyons (1968: 304 -306) views tense as a deictic category. It is simultaneously a property of the sentence and of the utterance. That is,

the utterance is made at a particular moment and tense "points" to this time in some way. Kurylowicz (Majewicz 1985: 31) also regards tense as a deictic category, while aspect "semantically characterizes the course of the situation." We look at aspect in more detail in the next section.

2.2.2 Aspect

Aspect differs from tense. It is not concerned with when the activity represented by the verb takes place, but rather with how the action evolves. Table 2.1 shows how tense can be derived from the relationship between R and S. Aspect, on the other hand, is more concerned with the relationship between E and R. If E and R overlap, we get an imperfective. If E precedes R, a perfective results (Binnick 1991: 458).

The most common use of the term aspect comes to us from the Russian word *vid* 'view or aspect.' Most Russian verbs¹ are obligatorily marked morphologically as being either imperfective or perfective. This imperfective/perfective division is often the basic guideline for determining a verb's aspect. In most cases in Polish where a person uses a verb, they are required to choose an aspect. The two forms of the verb are homolexical. That is, aspectual differences aside, they have the same meaning. Other aspectual categories are subsumed in one of these aspects. For example, Slavic imperfective subsumes progressive and iterative.

2.2.3 Perfective/Imperfective Division

Perfective verbs indicate totality; i.e., the activity is viewed a whole. While the activity itself may take place over a considerable expanse of time, the use of the perfective verb indicates that it is to be viewed as single unanalyzable whole, without reference to its internal temporal nature (Comrie 1976:3). Generally, perfective verbs are used to depict events. Often included in the perfective is the idea of completion. But perfective might better be viewed as a change of state, especially with inceptive verbs, i.e. perfective verbs indicating the beginning of some activity. Uses of the Slavic perfective include promise (future), momentariness, and result (including success).

The imperfective, on the other hand, can be used to denote states; habitual, repeated, or continuous activities; failure, or actions in progress. Speakers of Slavic languages also use it to name an act, without any reference to whether the act has been completed or whether a change of state has occurred. There is a certain haziness involved with the imperfective.

Table 2.2 summarizes some contrasting uses of the two aspects.

Table 2.2

Perfective	Imperfective
Event	Process or State
Momentary	Extended time
Promise	Vagueness
Immediate Future	Indefinite Future
Once	Repetition
Result	Name the act
Accomplishment	Failure

It is the "naming of the act" use that suggests the imperfective as the unmarked member of the pair, at least in Slavic (Comrie 1976: Ch. 6), but there are many cases in which the perfective would be the preferred aspect, especially with verbs denoting events like **die** or **finish**. Also, the perfective is often more frequent in connected text. Substituting the imperfective for the perfective always has consequences for meaning, often for discourse structure. We return to this point below.

2.2.4 Aktionsart

There is a lot of confusion as to what *Aktionsart* means and how it differs from aspect. A major contributor to this problem is the fact that the Russian *vid* 'aspect' was translated into German by *Aktionsart*. Some linguists still use the terms interchangeably. Others analyze the perfective/imperfective pair as just two of a number of *Aktionsarten*. Here, however, we consider *Aktionsart* a lexical (not grammatical) category concerning the inherent meaning or semantic character of the

verb. Accordingly verbs can be categorized as to whether they are punctual vs. durative, telic vs. atelic, or static vs. dynamic--to give just some of the distinctions subsumed under the general category of *Aktionsart*. Categories can be language-specific. For example, Cockiewicz and Zwolski (1982:168) propose four classes of verbs in Polish: verbs of state, processive verbs, causative verbs, and verbs of action. Almost all have imperfective and perfective pairings.

2.3 The Polish Tense-Aspect System

Grammars of Polish typically list three tenses--past, present, and future--most probably based on the Greek and Latin systems. Such a division is seen in Table 2.3, which gives the third person masculine singular endings for the verb **robić/zrobić** 'to do'.

Table 2.3

	Imperfective	Perfective
Past	robil	zrobil
Present	robi	-----
Future	bedzie robić	zrobi

This system is somewhat asymmetric. There is a blank space for the present perfective and an imbalance in the future tense. The perfective can not occur in present tense. Cockiewicz and Zwolski (1982:18) point out that the perfective future has the form of an imperfective present (cf. **robi** and **zrobi**) without having a present meaning and that it has future meaning without having the **bedzie**. Lyons (1968:306) suggests a

past/non-past division for English, but such a division might apply to Polish even better. A system based on such a division is given in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4

	Imperfective	Perfective
Past	robił	zrobił
Non-past	robi	zrobi
Disjoint	bedzie robić	-----

In the system shown in Table 2.4, the past tense is semantically marked for an action that takes place in past time. The non-past does not prohibit past time; it simply does not require a past-time interpretation. Formally, the past tense is marked by the presence of an 'I', while the non-past is indicated by the absence of this marker. The most highly marked tense, the disjoint tense, requires that the action represented by the verb take place in future time and is marked formally by being a compound tense, consisting of a form of the verb **być** "to be" and the imperfective of the lexical verb. The imperfective in this tense can also take an same 'I' marker in more colloquial registers.

2.4 Aspect in Polish

The perfective and the imperfective form the aspect pair for homolexical verbs in Polish. The situation for aspect differs from that for tense. Tense is marked through inflections, as for example the "I" past tense marker seen in the preceding section. Aspect pairs, on the other

hand, are not forms of one verb, but rather two separate verbs, each with their own separate dictionary entry.

The present work is not meant to be a grammar of Polish, but a brief description of the aspect morphology is necessary.² Aspect is marked in the following ways: prefixation, suffixation (sometimes accompanied by alternation in the verbal roots), and suppletion.

The word formation process of prefixation and suffixation has produced whole families of related verbs based on one verb stem. There are 18 possible³ verbal prefixes for verbs. They are listed, along with phonetic variants, in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5

do-	na-	nad(e)-	o-	ob(e)-
od(e)-	po-	pod(e)-	prze-	przed(e)-
przy-	roz(e)-	u-	w(e)-	wy-
wz(e)-	z(e)-	za-		

The normal pattern for these families has one (or two) of these prefixes functioning as "empty" prefixes which, when combined with the imperfective verbal stem, form homolexical perfectives for that stem. The other prefixes are free to perform a word formation role and create new (i.e. non-homolexical) but related verbs. Imperfectivizing suffixes then (often **-ywa-**) provide imperfective counterparts for the derived perfectives. Although all the prefixes have the potential to combine with one imperfective or another, there is no case of all 18 being used in one verb family. Cockiewicz and Zwolski (1982:170) state that the highest

attested number is 17, and that is in only two derivational families: **kladac/lozyc** and **stawiac/stawic**. They provide a mini-dictionary of such verb families.

The other two ways of marking aspect pairs are suffixation and suppletion. While prefixes mark perfectives, suffixes can be either perfectivizing or imperfectivizing. The existence of suppletive and derivational pairs can make it difficult to identify aspect pairs. For example, in the survey, one of the respondents used **dowiedzialam sie** 'I found out', apparently as a perfective for **wiedzialam** 'I knew'. **Dowiedziec sie** is paired with the imperfective **dowiadrywac sie** in standard Polish. Hence it was not provided as an aspect alternative for **wiedziec**. In another case, respondents supplied a perfective **powedrowac** 'to wander', which is not listed in dictionaries. It is, however, a reasonable perfective form. Word-formation is an on-going process.

Traditionally, grammars list the possible uses of the two aspects (including the ones listed in Table 2.4), possibly in the hope that this will somehow aid the non-native learner to choose the correct aspect. Unfortunately, this type of an approach often leaves the learner confused. One study (King: 1992) suggests that texts for foreign learners either oversimplify or overcomplicate the aspect situation. In King's study, the participants were asked about aspect choice in isolated

sentences. Native speakers of Russian often indicated that both aspects were possible. However, none of the non-native speakers did. The major drawback of an isolated approach stems from the fact that aspect is treated in isolation, rather than in a discourse context.

As a step beyond a list of isolated uses, more recent works on aspect often tie the uses into a two-way semantic distinction between the two aspects. The most popular approach has the perfective indicating completed action and the imperfective, incomplete action. One problem with this view is that it does not take into consideration an inchoative use of the perfective. In Polish, for example, the verb **rozboleć** 'to start to ache,' does not indicate completion with regard to aching and yet is a perfective; no imperfective ***rozbolewać** 'to be starting to ache' is found in any dictionary. This suggests that the imperfective counterpart to **rozboleć** is **boleć** 'to ache', as dictionaries state. There are a number of such verbs, and this detracts from the value of a distinction between complete and non-complete. In the survey discussed in Chapter 4, a number of respondents chose the perfective **polubiliśmy**, instead of the original **lubiliśmy** 'we liked'. The perfective could only have had the inchoative meaning of 'we took a liking to'.

Rather than limiting the perfective to completion, a semantic definition should include both the idea of completedness and of inchoativity. Consequently, the Jakobsonian concept of the perfective

requiring a change of state seems to be more appropriate. But one thing to ask ourselves about these semantic distinctions is whether such an approach will help a non-Slav predict the aspect. We still need to know when we should specify a boundary or a change of state. The answer to this is, of course, that we must examine the discourse context of a particular clause before we can know. And this leads us into the narrative approaches mentioned in the introduction.

2.5 Discourse Approaches to Aspect

2.5.1 Discourse Function

Hopper categorizes clauses in narratives by the function they perform in that narrative. In his framework a clause may perform two possible functions: foreground or background. He further suggests a universal division in narrative between foregrounded and backgrounded material.⁴ The former consists of event clauses which make up the skeletal framework of a narrative and the latter is made up of state clauses which support and elaborate on the foregrounding. Foreground forms the actual storyline, or plot, of the narrative. The events in foreground follow one another in chronological order, with each event completed before the next one takes place.⁵ Accordingly, the verbs representing these events tend to be punctual and, therefore, perfective.

Background events, on the other hand, do not necessarily have to be sequential with respect to foreground ones or even with respect to each other. They are there to amplify the foreground events. In fulfilling

this function, they may be simultaneous with some foreground events. The verbs representing background events tend to be durative, stative, or iterative, all of which fall under the super-category of imperfective.

Hopper devotes part of his paper to correlating this division with the use of aspect in Russian. In his framework, the perfective indicates foregrounding and the imperfective, backgrounding. One drawback to this article, however, is that the longest example he gives has only three clauses. This is longer than the standard one-sentence text in generative theory. However, it is still a very short text in the context of discourse structure. When we examine longer samples in a Slavic language, the structure of the narrative begins to look a bit more complex. As pointed out in Bogdan (1984), longer narratives have perfective verbs in clauses which do not perform the foregrounding function predicted by Hopper's framework. In order to account for these perfectives, a more elaborate narrative structure is needed.

2.5.2 Rhetorical Functions

With a division that is somewhat similar to that of Hopper, Matthiessen and Thompson (1988) envision a hierarchical structure for text (not limited to narrative), in which a text contains nuclear and supplementary material. The nuclear material is those portions of the text which realize the central goals of the writer/speaker and the supplementary material realizes goals ancillary to the central goals.

"Nuclear" and "central" do not, however, have a monopoly on information important to the text. Supplementary material may have clauses that provide information critical to the reader's understanding, even though it is not central to the author's goals. Nor are these goals easily characterized in grammatical terms. That is, supplementary information is not limited to subordinated clauses. As a result, there is no easy grammatical litmus test to distinguish between central and supplementary.

2.5.3 Three Narrative Functions

Bogdan (1984) presents a three-way approach to the discourse function of clauses. Clauses are classified as plot, description, or background. Hopper's foregrounding function remains essentially the same, but we call it the "plot" because "foreground" has been used in too many different ways.⁶ Plot clauses generally have event verbs.

Hopper's background or subsidiary material is divided into two parts: description and backgrounding. Description consists of clauses that elaborate on the plot clauses or provide expanded or pragmatic contexts for them. Most descriptive clauses have state verbs. We find event verbs in the backgrounding clauses. These events, however, are not part of the plot line. They may be located in parts of the text that are fundamentally plot or description. In the plot portions of the text, backgrounding clauses communicate events temporally related to events

on the central plot line but peripheral to it. In the descriptive portions of the text, the events in backgrounding clauses are not related to the plot line at all. Instead they communicate events which produce resultant states that contribute to the pragmatic context of the plot line.

In this framework a narrative begins at an initial state and follows a chain of events until the target state is reached, with descriptive expansion provided along the way. Some short anecdotes follow this model and use only plot clauses. Longer narratives with only plot clauses, however, would strike a reader as incomplete. Plot is literally the skeleton of narrative; description and peripheral events provide the flesh and the sinews. States given in descriptive clauses provide resting places along the chain of events by clarifying and elaborating on the situation. Backgrounding clauses, like plot clauses, normally represent events. But the narrator uses them for reasons other than advancing the plot. Perhaps the events they communicate have been mentioned before or are, in general, presupposed. One way to distinguish between backgrounded and plot events is to look for some kind of subordination in the former. Clauses containing peripheral events can be morphologically, syntactically, or lexically subordinated.⁷ Examples (2.3) - (2.5) show how a backgrounded clause might be subordinated in English. In (2.3) there is a participial phrase. In (2.4)

there is a subordinate clause. In (2.5) there are two signals: a temporal expression and a past perfect tense.

- (2.3) Having read the chapter, she aced the test.
- (2.4) Because she had read the chapter, she aced the test.
- (2.5) She aced the test. She had read the chapter the night before.

In a Polish translation of (2.5), only the adverbial "the night before" signals backgrounding, because the verb would be in the past perfective, just as a plot verb would be. Notice, also, that if the clause "she was ready for the test" were substituted for "she aced the test," we would see a peripheral event subordinated to a descriptive state. The important point here is that Hopper does not mention subordination at all in his discussion of Russian aspect. The significance of the narrative structure described here is that it can be used to predict the unmarked t/a forms of the verbs in a text. The discourse functions have unmarked forms. For example, in a past-time narrative, the unmarked t/a form is past perfective in both plot and backgrounding. In the description, it is past imperfective. For a present-time narrative, the unmarked t/a form is non-past imperfective in both plot and description, while the backgrounding still has unmarked past perfective. The word "predict" must, of course, be qualified. For one thing, you still have to know the narrative function of a particular clause. Because this is a rhetorical/cognitive function, it can sometimes be ambiguous. Remember that "unmarked" means that a particular t/a form is the form

most likely to occur; it does not mean that such a form must occur. There can be marked uses of aspect. For example, if the narrator wants to communicate an extension in time in a plot clause, the imperfective may appear. No framework can provide an airtight determination of t/a choice.

2.5.4 A Test of Aspect Use in Russian

In a study at the University of Florida, Wayne King (1992)⁸ compared aspect use in Russian between native and non-native speakers of Russian. He tested 4 native speakers and 12 English-speaking learners of Russian. The subjects performed two written tasks. They were asked to choose the aspect for verbs in 18 isolated sentences and then in extracts from two narratives, one with 41 verbs and the other with 21. The excerpts were taken from works by Pushkin and Solzhenitsyn and were chosen because they had been analyzed for discourse function in Bogdan (1984). King reported some interesting differences between the two groups of subjects and in the responses for isolated vs. context tests.

Consider first the results for the isolated sentences. In 11 of the 18 sentences, at least one of the native speakers indicated that both aspects were possible. Not one of the non-native speakers allowed for "both" in any of the isolated sentences. On the other hand, consistency among the respondents did not differ greatly for the two groups. All of

the native speakers agreed on aspect choice for nine of the sentences, and the non-native speakers agreed on seven.

In the discourse context, we can look at agreement between the subject responses and the original. The native speakers agreed with each other to a much greater degree in the test of connected texts than they did with the isolated sentences. The most any one respondent differed from the original was seven times in a total of 62 items. Thus, the least "accurate" native speaker was 89% accurate. The non-native speakers were much less consistent. King reports that there were 36 clauses (56%) where at least three (not necessarily the same ones every time) of the respondents chose an aspect different from the one in the original text. Finally, as far as freedom of t/a choice is concerned, only one native speaker allowed for both aspects at any point, and then in only two of the 62 clauses.

One comment should be made about the clauses where the native speakers chose a different aspect form from that of the original author. King notes that the departures from the original do not seem to be random; they tended to cluster around specific clauses. Without going into great detail here, these clauses (as seen in Bogdan 1984) tend to be in contexts which could either be description or backgrounding. In other words, they are not plot verbs.

In addition to the written tasks, King also had three randomly chosen members from each group produce oral narratives in a fashion somewhat similar to what Chafe did in *The Pear Stories* (1980). They were shown a series of pictures and asked to relate the story depicted. The one interesting result was the difference between the two groups in the use of past perfective. On average, the non-natives used it only 47% of the time, while the natives, who no doubt did not realize that it was supposed to be the "marked" member of the aspect pair, used it in 67% of the clauses. Non-native speakers, who are taught that the imperfective is unmarked, used that form more often.

Although there might be questions about the population for the survey (e.g. the low number of native speakers, the possible influence of English on the Russian of native speakers living in the U.S., and the high variation of language ability among the non-natives), it did yield interesting results. The differences between the ways in which native speakers used aspect in isolated sentences and in the connected texts suggest that discourse context plays a definite role in aspect choice. With written texts at least, discourse context tends to reduce ambiguity in aspect choice. Additionally, the fact that the non-native speakers showed such abilities with the connected text suggests that a discourse approach to aspect is sorely lacking in Russian textbooks.

There was also an interesting disparity between the responses of the native speakers and the non-native speakers to two of the isolated sentences used by King. One of them was a question given in one of Hopper's (1979) examples of the past imperfective used with subject focus. The example is repeated in (2.6).

- (2.6) Kto pisał (pi) *Voynu i Mir*?
Who wrote *War and Peace*?

All of the non-native speakers chose the imperfective. In the second sentence, which includes an adverbial "several times" indicating iterativity, the non-native speakers were also unanimous in their choice of the imperfective. The gloss of this example is given⁹ below.

- (2.7) He tried several times to open the door.

While the non-natives all chose the imperfective, three of four native speakers indicated both aspects were possible for the first sentence and all of them felt that way for the second. Both examples are without discourse context. Yet native speakers often acknowledge aspect ambiguity. Even with the repetition of the same action in the second example, they recognized that this sentence could be perceived as a single event on a plot-line.

2.6 Terminology

Using the term "backgrounding" for the third category of discourse structure may seem inappropriate. Not only has a similar term been used with different meanings, but Hopper also uses "background"

for one of his categories. This can lead to confusion. A new expression would definitely be in order, but finding a replacement has proved to be quite difficult. "Peripheral events" is one alternative, but this expression has evoked strong if incompletely explained objections. Moreover, it is still slightly off target. These clauses do not always communicate events. Other possibilities that have been considered are "ancillary" or "supportive events". Again there is the problem with the "events" part. "Flashback" is also tempting, especially since it is discussed in the section on Iwasaki in Chapter 3. But flashback is only one component of the third category, albeit the most commonly seen, because there are also clauses not on the plot-line representing future events. Therefore, we are pretty much stuck with "backgrounding".

There is one more terminological problem. Some might find the use of the term "state" a bit unusual; here it is used as a cover term for a state represented by a state verb and an action in progress represented by a dynamic verb. Perhaps Slavic is influencing me here. I also use "clause" for both clauses and non-finite predicate phrases. Chafe (1979) uses "phrase" to cover both, while I have gone the other route.

2.7 The Polish Analysis

Bogdan (1984) analyzes two excerpts from written Russian texts. There were a number of questions left unanswered at the end of the study, however. One of the goals mentioned for further research was an analysis of oral narrative. In this study, we use data in Polish, primarily

because of the availability of subjects. Polish and Russian t/a systems are similar enough to each other that a comparison is reasonable. Here, we are using as data the transcript of a recording made several years ago in Poland. The recording was made in a dorm room in which several students were asked to relate an anecdote about some past experience. The setting was informal, and there was a lot of interplay among the various informants during the recordings. The particular story used is an eleven-minute, more or less spontaneous story related by a 20-year-old female from South Central Poland. She was a sophomore majoring in Polish Philology at Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Poland. A transcript, translation, and related materials are found in the appendices.

2.8 Notes

¹Majewicz (1985: 24) points out that there are quite a few verbs in the Slavic languages (he cites 31% for Russian) that are aspectually neutral. The structure of the language still does, however, exert considerable pressure on verbs to differentiate between the two aspects.

²Detailed descriptions are found in Majewicz (1985) and Cockiewicz and Zwolski (1982).

³Majewicz (1985) only gives 15 possible prefixes. He combines **o-** and **ob-**, **prze-** and **przed-**, and **w-** and **wz-**, respectively, into single categories. Note that **o-** and **ob-** are historically identical, but the others are not.

⁴Gleason (1973: 263) refers to "a central structure" and "a periphery" when discussing the organization of narrative.

⁵Kalmar (1982: 241- 242) splits the concept of foregrounding into two elements: foregrounding proper, which concerns those clauses carrying more important information, and sequentiality, which is the temporal ordering of events. The two are not the same. While all sequential clauses are foregrounded, not all foregrounded clauses are sequential.

⁶One of the rhetorical functions that Matthiessen and Thompson (1988: 293) list is background, which provides information that enables the listener to comprehend information contained in the nuclear material

⁷Matthiessen and Thompson (1988) use the term "hypotaxis," which might be more appropriate.

⁸This is an unpublished paper by Wayne King. Complete information is given in the bibliography under King (1992).

⁹King only gives the glosses in his analysis of the isolated sentences.

CHAPTER 3 TENSE AND ASPECT IN JAPANESE

3.1 Introduction

Tense and aspect are verbal categories which are closely related and, therefore, often confused. The close relationship can be seen in Japanese, where there is some debate as to whether the verb suffixes **-ta** and **-ru** mark aspect rather than tense, leading to the question of whether the category tense actually exists in the language. We acknowledge that such there is some question as to how to categorize these forms, but we will not take up this debate here. This chapter focuses on how they act in a narrative context.

There are three approaches presented in this Chapter. First, in *Tense and Aspect in Modern Colloquial Japanese*, Soga (1983), in addition to providing a rather extensive taxonomy of Japanese verbs based on tense and aspect, analyzes aspect in Japanese narratives on the background and foreground framework developed by Hopper. His book, with its detailed presentation of the t/a system in Japanese, both in isolation and in narrative context, provides a good take-off point. Next, is a discussion of the approach taken by Szatrowski. She is concerned by the high use of **-ru** in narratives about past events. In her analysis of two surveys, she examines a number of possible functions of the t/a forms, including, but not limited to narrative function. The final

approach is one taken by Iwasaki. He introduces a theory of speaker's perspective with which he explains the use of t/a forms in Japanese.

3.2 Soga on Tense and Aspect

3.2.1 Japanese Tense Morphology

Soga maintains that the verbal category of tense does exist in Japanese and that there are two simple tenses: the past and the non-past. Verbs ending in **-ta** denote past tense and those with **-ru** indicate the non-past. With regard to the relationship between S (Speech time) and R (Reference time) discussed in Section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2, if R precedes S, you get the **-ta**, and, in other cases, a verb will end in **-ru**. This two-way distinction may seem alien to those used to a past/present/future orientation. There are those who view the so-called future construction **will+infinitive** in English as at least partially a modal rather than a tense (Lyons 1968: 306).

There are at least two major reasons (Soga 1983: 199-200) as to why some researchers have questioned the existence of tense as a category in Japanese. One is the fact that tense agreement does not occur. The other is that the rules governing the use of the past and non-past tense markers do not seem to be consistent, especially in conversations and narratives. In looking at the latter, Soga argues that the apparently random mixing of the markers **-ta** and **-ru** is a result of the speaker shifting between past tense narration and something like the

historical present. Soga contends that the shift between the two tenses seems to take place much more freely and frequently than in other languages (for example, English) leads to the misconception that tense does not have a deictic, or temporal, function in Japanese.

Soga has defined a number of aspectual categories and aspectual oppositions, including progressive, resultative, ingressive, perfective, resultative, sustentive, completive vs. incompletive, and experiential vs. existential. The aspects are represented formally by either compound verbs (two verbs combined, with the first verb in its conjunctive form followed by another verb) or forms consisting of the **V-te** gerund and an auxiliary.¹

One of the forms² from the latter group is the **-te iru** aspect form. This form consists of the **V-te** gerund and the auxiliary verb **iru**.³ One interesting feature of this form, which Soga describes in detail, is that the same verb in the **-te iru** form can convey either a progressive or resultive meaning depending on the context, as can be seen in the Examples (3.1) and (3.2).

- (3.1) Yukiko wa ima gakushoku de o-hiru o tabe-**te iru**.
Yukiko is eating lunch now in the cafeteria.
- (3.2) Yukiko wa moo sude-ni o-hiru o tabe-**te iru**.
Yukiko has already eaten lunch.

In (3.1), Yukiko's eating is still in progress, while (3.2) gives the resultive, or perfect, meaning.⁴

Majewicz (1985: 172) tentatively suggests that the functions of the **-te iru** form may be lumped into one grammatical category: the progressive. Depending on the semantic content of the verb and the context in which it is found, the form can represent the continuation of the following: an action or habit in progress, a state in progress, and a result in progress.

The **-te iru** and **-te ita** forms, combined with the **-ru** and **-ta** forms, give the four-way contrast given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

	Simple	Complex
Non-Past	V- ru	V- te iru
Past	V- ta	V- te ita

According to Shimamori (1991: 265-266), there are two tenses (past and non-past) and two aspects (perfective and imperfective) in Japanese. The imperfective is usually presented by the complex forms (with the **-te-**) and the perfective is usually presented by the simple forms (**-ru** and **-ta**).

3.2.2 Aspect

Soga himself uses the word aspect for both aspect and *Aktionsart*. Some of the aspectual categories he gives (Soga 1933: 33) are inceptive, completive, sustentive, conclusive, and ingressive. He considers the perfective/imperfective (he uses "completive/incompletive") pair to be a

super-category, in the same way that punctual vs. durative and realized vs. unrealized are super-categories, at least for Japanese. He feels that the last category, realized vs. unrealized, is especially pertinent to Japanese (Soga 1983: 204-206). The reason that these are called super-categories is that other categories fall under them. He provides a chart of the super-categories on page 205 (Soga 1983) which illustrates the hierarchy he is proposing. Rather than go into detail about his semantic classification of aspect and *Aktionsart*, we want to see how the forms given in Table 3.1 function in a narrative context. Before doing so, however, we will briefly discuss a classification of verbs that is often cited in Japanese linguistics.

3.2.3 Verb Classification in Japanese

Perhaps the major contribution in classifying Japanese verbs was an article by Kindaichi (1950), in which he groups verbs into four classes based on whether they can have the **-te iru** form or not and, if they can, what meaning results. These classes are seen in (3.3).

(3.3)

a. Stative: Verbs which can not be found in the **-te iru** form.
Examples: **aru** 'be', **dekiru** 'be able to', **hanaseru** 'can talk'

b. Continuative: Verbs which can have a progressive meaning with the **-te iru** form.
Examples: **yomu** 'read', **kaku** 'write'

c. Instantaneous: Verbs which must have a resultative, or perfect, meaning when in the **-te iru** form.
Examples: **shinu** 'die', **tsuku** 'come on (e.g., a light)'

- d. Type 4: Verbs which must be in the **-te iru** form.
 Examples: **sobie-te iru** 'tower above', **maga-tte iru** 'bend'

Notice that the verbs in classes (a) and (d) differ in whether they can take **-te iru**, while (b) and (c) differ in the meaning gotten from the **-te iru** form. Jacobsen (1982: 79-92) and Majewicz (1985: 109-124) both give very good summaries of Kindaichi's classification along with criticisms and revisions by other linguists.

The **-te iru** form is the litmus test in this verb classification. This is one of the reasons we devoted some much of the section on verb morphology (Section 3.2.1) to this form and used it as a basis for Table 3.1. Although there are other aspectual forms,⁵ this one compares closely with the imperfective in Slavic. Like the imperfective, it is used to represent a state. It also combines with the other aspectual forms as in Example (3.4).

- (3.4) **Nom-i-hajime-te shima-tte ita.**
 I had (done) gone and started drinking.

This complex form represents a state derived from three different aspect forms: **nom-i hajeme-** (inceptive), **-te shima-** (terminative), and **-tte ita** (resultive state). There is a maximum of three slots for aspect forms. The third, and final, slot is somewhat rare, and it is the **-te iru** form that can occur here.⁶ The **-te iru** form seems to be more basic than the other aspect forms in its combinatory potential. What follows it is the tense marker, **-ru** or **-ta**.

3.2.4 Soga and Narrative Structure

In his Appendix 2, Soga discusses a narrative approach to t/a form use. For Soga, foreground (or main) events tend to be represented by verbs in the **-ta** form, while background, or subsidiary, events are often related by verbs with **-ru**. There is a proviso to this: shifting the tense to the historical present to give vividness to a narrative will cause foreground events to also be stated in the **-ru** form. He further states that, in extreme cases, for stylistic reasons, a narrative could be related exclusively in either **-ta** or **-ru**. Such narratives nullify the tendencies of the t/a forms to perform a certain narrative function.

To see how Soga's proposed system works, we show how he classifies verbs in one of his examples (1983: 220-221 Sample 2).⁷ He uses the categories "Main Events" and "Subsidiary Events" in place of Hopper's foreground, and background, respectively. His classification is given in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2

	Main	Subsidiary	Gloss
1.	isoide ita		was hurrying
2.		juu-hachi de aru	is eighteen
3.		kanatte iru	suits
4.		motte iru	has
5.		sunde ita	were clear
6.		de wa nakatta	were hardly
7.		no de aru	fact is
8.		Tsukete iru	is wearing
9.	nobotta		climbed

It appears that Soga is analyzing a primarily descriptive excerpt taken from a longer narrative. It describes a young fisherman returning from the sea. Note that only two of the verbs, the first and the last, relate main events. Even with those two, there is a question of the "main-ness" of the first. Soga does not explain why he lists (1) **isoide ita** 'was hurrying' as a main, as opposed to a subsidiary event. Notice that this **-te ita** form is the same form found in (5) **sunde ita** 'were clear', a verb which he considers a subsidiary event. Even the glosses, 'was hurrying' and 'were clear', lead one to question a distinction between the two--the first is an action in progress, and the second, a state--both of which would be represented in Slavic languages by imperfectives, the background form in Hopper's model. Soga does not give a reason for the difference, nor does he give any real justification for his classification of the clauses in the examples.

Only in the final clause of this passage (9) is there an event that brings about a change of state, a necessary condition to move the plot forward. The subject of this clause is a full nominal, **wakamono** 'young man', which also signals a change in the narrative. The first verb seems to be in a scene-setting clause, and should, consequently, be classified as subsidiary, or, in our model, descriptive.

Soga's model of narrative structure requires some revision, especially in his choice of the forms **-ta** and **-ru** to represent foreground

and background, respectively. A major problem stems from the fact that the aspectual forms **-te iru** and **-te ita** play no role in narrative function according to his framework. His samples show little or no justification for the choices of function. Of course, the fact that Soga relegates the whole discussion of a Hopperian-type approach to narrative to an appendix indicates the importance he places on it.

3.3 Szatrowski's Approach

3.3.1 Introduction

Traditional approaches regard the **-ru/-ta** distinction as one of tense or, more recently, aspect, but Szatrowski (1935b: 108) feels that they do not satisfactorily account for the high incidence of **-ru** (usually considered to be the non-past member) in clauses representing past actions. When questioned about this use, native speakers often respond that either it is incorrect or that the **-ru** and **-ta** forms can be used interchangeably in the particular environment.

Recent research has provided alternative functions for the two forms. As seen in the preceding section, Soga, using a Hopperian background/foreground framework, claims that **-ta** is used for foregrounding and **-ru** for background in past tense narratives. The one deviation from this pattern is when **-ru** is used in clauses relating sequential foreground events in order to produce a vividness effect.

3.3.2 Approach

Szatrowski looks at this Vividness effect along with other possible characteristics of the t/a forms. In two separate surveys, a year apart, she had 199 native speakers evaluate clauses in taped conversations for 11 discourse-pragmatic features. The data were collected from a live television talk show for the first survey and from spontaneously occurring conversations in the second. Following this, native speakers were questioned directly and indirectly about the use of the t/a forms in the conversations. For example, they were asked what effect changing the t/a form of a particular clause would have on the meaning of that clause. Based on this, Szatrowski produced a list of features possibly relevant to t/a form alternation. She then checked the correlation between t/a forms and features. The results showed that t/a forms heightened the perceptions of particular features, but the responses were not consistent for all.

3.3.3 Features Tested

A total of 11 features were evaluated. They are listed in Table (3.3).

Table 3.3

1. Pastness (Survey 1 only)
2. Speaker A's Experience (Survey 1 only)
3. Evaluation (Survey 1 only)
4. Emotionality (Survey 1 only)
5. Narrative Events
6. Vividness
7. Generality
8. Characterization
9. Explanation (Survey 2 only)
10. Description (Survey 2 only)
11. Continuation (Survey 2 only)

Of these features,⁸ the first four were used only in Survey 1, while the last three were used only in Survey 2. The final three were added because, in the year between the two surveys, discussions with native speakers and follow-up research had pointed to their possible relevancy with regard to t/a form alternation. Of the four features which were dropped, Pastness and Speaker A's Experience were highly significant in the first survey, and it was thought that the correlation between these features and t/a alternation was so well established that it was unnecessary to test them again. On the other hand, Evaluation and Emotionality were dropped for the opposite reason; the results in the first survey for these features were inconclusive.

3.3.4 Methodology

The number of features tested had to be limited because the tape was played for the participants in the survey once for each feature to be tested. First the students would be given a transcript and then the tape

would be played once at the beginning to familiarize them with the material. Then, following an explanation pertaining to a particular feature, students would listen to a repetition of the tape and indicate to which clauses they felt that feature applied. Even with the reduction of features, the tape was played nine times in the first survey and eight in the second, and it took an hour to survey each group.

Three groups were tested in each survey; one being a control group which listened to the tape with the t/a forms unchanged, another heard a tape with **-ta** forms changed to **-ru** forms (where possible), and the third group had a tape with **-ru** forms changed to **-ta** forms. For the first survey, Class 1 heard the tape with a high number of **-ru** forms, Class 2 heard the original, and Class 3 heard the tape with a high incidence of **-ta** forms. The same order of tapes holds for Classes 4, 5, and 6 in the second survey. Accordingly, we have: Class 1 (high **-ru**), Class 2 (control), Class 3 (high **-ta**), Class 4 (high **-ru**), Class 5 (control), and Class 6 (high **-ta**).

Prior to the surveys, interviews with native speakers had determined which clauses could have a change in verb suffix. Only those forms were changed in the tapes and corresponding transcripts. In the second survey, in addition to the overall **-ru/-ta** contrast, more specific contrasts-- **-te iru** vs. **-te ita**, **-ru** vs. **-te iru**, **-ru** vs. **-te ita**, **-ta** vs. **-te**

iru, -ta vs. **-te ita**, and having the **-te-** suffix vs. not having it--were compared.

The actual methodology for the two surveys was essentially the same, except that in the second survey, the slides which had accompanied the original narration were shown to the students during the first playback of the tape. The source for the data in the first survey was a live TV talk show, while the second survey had students listening to a tape of a speaker giving a slide show of her trip.

3.3.5 Results for Individual Features

Table 3.4 lists the features in the order they will be discussed. This order of the features basically reflects the results of the survey.⁹ The features heightened by use of the **-ta** form are listed first, next the ones heightened by the **-ru**, then, those whose results were inconclusive, and finally the ones which were influenced by the presence or absence of the **-te-** suffix .

Table 3.4

1. Pastness (1st survey only) (**-ta** heightened).
2. Narrative Event (both surveys)(**-ta** heightened).
3. Continuity (2nd survey only)(**-ta** heightened).
4. Speaker A's Experience (1st survey only)(**-ta** heightened)
5. Vividness (both surveys)(**-ru** heightened).
6. Generality (both surveys)(**-ru** heightened).
7. Characterization (both surveys)(usually **-ru** : some variation).
8. Evaluation (1st survey only)(usually **-ru** but with variation).
9. Emotionality (1st survey only)(variation).
10. Explanation (**-ta** but with variation; **-te-** heightened).
11. Description (**-ru** but with variation; **-te-** heightened).

Pastness

In all comparisons **-ta** clauses tested higher for Pastness effect than **-ru** clauses across the board. However, there was some variation in the degree of heightening. For example, Nominal + Copula clauses with **-ta** were perceived as Past to a greater degree than verbal clauses with **-ta**.

There are, therefore, environments where the Pastness heightening effect of **-ta** over **-ru** is greater than in others. Some clauses are rated as Past regardless of which form is used. There would seem to be an inverse relationship between the degree of transitivity and degree of Pastness sensed by the use of the **-ta** form. In other words, clauses high on the Transitivity scale (Hopper and Thompson: 1980) are less susceptible to the heightening effect, while those low on the Transitivity scale are more likely to be affected by use of the form. Nominal + Copula clauses are low in transitivity, and, when **-ta** is used, Pastness is felt more keenly. Verbal clauses are higher on the scale, and are therefore less affected by t/a form use. In the mid range are negatives and questions.

For Szatrowski, this complies with the principles of Hopper and Thompson's (1984) categoriality hypothesis. On the discourse level, nouns do not normally narrate events and temporal location is not obvious. The events represented by verbal clauses, on the other hand,

are easier to locate along the time line. Therefore, with verbal clauses, the speaker has the option of using the **-ta** form for some function other than tense. We will see this reasoning again in the discussion of Iwasaki.

Narrative Event

Narrative Events were portrayed as "main" events in the definitions used for those surveyed. (Szatrowski 1985a: 119 - 120) The clauses representing these main events presumably reflect the actual temporal order of the events themselves, and changing the order would change the story itself. For Szatrowski, this feature comes from the Labovian framework of narrative.

Overall, **-ta** heightened the Narrative Event effect over **-ru** in both experiments, but the relationship among the more detailed contrasts is not conclusive. In particular, there were conflicting results when the set of all verbals (including nominal sentence modifying clauses) was compared with the set of verbals minus these nominal sentence modifiers. Szatrowski claims that these nominal sentence modifiers are less likely to form the skeletal structure of the conversation, and that this may explain the discrepancy, because the clauses "may not contribute in the same way to the impression of Narrative Events." (Szatrowski 1985a: 146)

The Labovian concept of Narrative Events suggests that the experiences are recalled with a set time framework and clauses realizing Narrative Events are related in the same order the events occurred. Narrative Events should be easy to identify, but this would not seem to be the case in the Japanese conversational narratives used for data in this study. Rather than a clear binary distinction, there is a hierarchy of the kinds of clauses based on the likelihood of their being used to relate Narrative Events. This is consistent with Hopper and Thompson's (1980) view of Narrative Eventhood as a continuum. Speakers are free to relate experiences using a variety of event types and do not necessarily have to recount the events in the iconic temporal order.

At the high end of the scale of clause types likely to relate Narrative Events, are affirmatives with **-ta** and **-ru** and those with the **V-te** gerund, but excluding verbals with **-te iru**. In the mid range were affirmative **-te iru** and **-te ita** forms. Adjectivals, noun plus copula, and negatives came out as the least likely Narrative Events. This held for all three groups in the survey. When compared in the same environment (one which allows a **-ru/-ta** distinction), however, the use of the **-ta** form generally strengthened the impression of Narrative Event over **-ru**. An interesting result of the survey is that there is also a complementary relationship between the features of Pastness and Narrative Event. **-ta**

served to intensify either one of the features but not both simultaneously.

Continuity

Clauses expressing continuity let the reader know that there is more to come. Interviewees prior to the survey had suggested that this was a characteristic of **-ru**, and the results of the survey were, therefore, surprising. They indicated that **-ta** was considered more Continuous than **-ru**. However, if one looks at this in the light of the Narrative Event feature, it is not so much of a surprise that **-ta** expressed Continuity. Because clauses with a higher Narrative Event rating referred to events occurring in temporal sequence, they would be expected to move the story forward and possibly leave the reader feeling that there is more to come. According to Szatrowski, however, Miyoshi (1974) claims that "the use of **-ru** tends to obscure the linear time development" (Szatrowski 1985a: 192) and would, therefore, leave less of an impression of Continuity.

The fact that the **-te-** forms are less Continuous than the non-**-te-** forms is related to the fact that they tend to occur in Descriptive and Explanatory clauses which give backgrounded information and, thus, would not generally be expected to move the plot forward.

Speaker A's Experience

The Experience characteristic applies to clauses relating the story (or experience itself) as opposed to those which form part of the conversation between A and other speaker(s) (i.e., interactive clauses). The **-ru** form tends to be used for the latter, as in, for example, answers to questions. Szatrowski finds it difficult to believe that a conversation can be divided neatly into these two parts, and the results from her surveys indicate that participant tracking had a greater influence on the rating than did such a division. The students rated a clause highly for Speaker A's Experience if the clause was about the speaker's in-group. Here the in-group includes the speaker, and its limiting case is a group of one. On the other hand, clauses about the speaker's father, who was not part of the in-group in this narrative, were rated lower for Speaker A's Experience.

The effect of this tracking function is also exhibited with the t/a forms. When clauses were about the speaker's father, **-ru** was rated higher for Speaker A's Experience, while **-ta** tended to have this effect when clauses were about Speaker A or her in-group.

Vividness

Vividness has been used to explain the historical present in English and the high incidence of **-ru** forms in Japanese narratives about past. Szatrowski defines the feature slightly differently in the two

surveys. In both, a clause relates the experience in such a way that it is almost as if one is there on the scene. But, in the first survey, it is the speaker doing the reliving, while in the second, it is the hearer. This change in definition may be responsible for some differences seen in the results for the two surveys.

The tendency was for **-ru** to heighten Vividness in verbal clauses, and for **-ta** to heighten it in nominal plus copula clauses. As with the other features, Vividness did not force an either/or choice between the two t/a forms. The same clauses were generally marked for Vividness (or lack thereof) in the different groups regardless of the form used. Also, there were clauses which did not allow the distinction between **-ru** and **-ta**, namely those with the **V-te** gerund, that were associated with Vividness. On average, however, **-ru** tended to intensify Vividness more often than **-ta** did. This agrees with Soga's (1983: 218 - 219) contention that one of the functions of **-ru** is to give a Vividness effect. But it also shows that **-ta** can, in some environments, itself have a Vividness effect.

When one looks closely at individual clauses, the tracking pattern mentioned in the preceding section about Speaker A's Experience section is also seen with Vividness. The effects, however, are reversed. In Survey 1, in clauses which refer to the speaker's in-group, **-ru** intensifies Vividness. Conversely, clauses which refer to the speaker's father are more Vivid when the **-ta** form is used (Szatrowski 1985a: 161).

The mean Vividness rating was higher for clauses about the speaker's father than that for those about the speaker. This could mean that these clauses would be "vivid," regardless of which form was used. Therefore, **-ru** could be used for something other than Vividness in these clauses, e.g. for participant tracking, setting off clauses about someone not in the speaker's in-group.

The conversation used for the second survey had many more participants than the one used in Survey 1. The second survey also had a much higher degree of overt subject marking. Thus, while there was a tendency to use **-ta** for clauses about the speaker themselves and **-ru** for clauses about others, the participant tracking function of the forms was not as strong and **-ru** tended to be used more for Vividness here.

If **-ta** were to have an evidentiality function, then the reverse proportionality relationship between Vividness and Speaker A's Experience can be explained by considering the referents of the clauses. First of all, clauses about oneself are going to have a higher degree of Speaker A's Experience. But, if Vividness is taken to be a visual perception, it will be difficult for the speaker to achieve a self-view without assuming objective distance. On the other hand, clauses about someone else in which the speaker seems to be giving a first hand account, i.e. they have an eyewitness quality and so have a higher degree of evidentiality, would be more vivid. Clauses about the speaker's father

already have a high mean Vividness rating. They would become even more vivid when the evidentiality marker **-ta** was used. This is the case in the first survey, when Vividness was defined from the speaker's point of view. In the second survey, where Vividness is in the ears of the listener, it was **-ru** that heightened the Vividness rating for clauses both about the speaker and about others.

Generality

Clauses that express Generality are those which are not limited to a particular point in time. One example is an eternal statement like "Japan and the U.S. are separated by the Pacific Ocean." An example of weaker generality (which occurred more frequently) is a statement about the speaker themselves, e.g. "I don't like coffee." The results indicate that Generality and Vividness are complementary functions of **-ru**. **-ru** tended to heighten Generality, but where it heightened it most was where it heightened Vividness the least (i.e. not at all). Also, the simple **-ru/-ta** forms have a greater heightening effect than the **-te iru/-te ita** forms. It makes sense for a "timeless" or eternal, expression to have a simple t/a form.

Characterization

These clauses tell what kind of person a particular individual is. In the pre-survey interviews, native speakers suggested that Characterization is associated with the use of the **-ru** form. The

variation in the results make it difficult to draw any general conclusions about this feature, but there are some tendencies. **-ru** tends to heighten Characterization in nominal sentence modifiers. There was also a tendency for **-te iru** clauses to heighten this feature more than simple **-ru** ones.

Evaluation

Evaluation is the speaker's own judgement, given overtly through the use of expressions such as "It's strange" and implicitly through the choice of certain words. This feature was added because it has been suggested by some researchers that the historical present in English and Spanish has this function (Szatrowski 1985a: 118-119).

The results from the survey are fairly straightforward. **-ru** tended to augment Evaluation. There was one interesting effect with respect to both the Nominal plus Copula constructions¹⁰ and the adjectival constructions, however. With these constructions, **-ru** heightened the Evaluation effect for clauses whose content was more objective (less challengeable), but it was **-ta** that heightened Evaluation for clauses whose content was subjective (more challengeable).

Emotionality

Clauses with the speaker's feelings and point of view instead of objective facts express Emotionality. This function was associated with the **-ru** form in interviews before the surveys. But the results of the

survey were not really conclusive. Neither form dominated. In the comparison of Classes 1 (high **-ru**) and 2 (control), it was **-ru** that heightened Emotionality, while in the comparison of 2 (control) and 3 (high **-ta**), it was **-ta** that heightened the feature.

Explanation

Explanatory clauses give reasons. This can be explicit, with cause/effect connectives such as **because, since**, etc.). It can also be implicit, i.e. without overt markers.

In general, **-ta** verbal clauses are more Explanatory than **-ru** ones, while the opposite is true in Nominal plus Copula ones. The verbs with **-te-** included to heighten this feature more than those without. Moreover, of the forms with **-te-**, **-te ita** was more explanatory than **-te iru**.

Description

Descriptive clauses have the speaker presenting an objective view from a distance. The speaker becomes, in effect, an observer. Szatrowski added Description and Explanation to the second survey to determine whether there was any correlation between t/a forms and these pragmatic functions.

The results indicate that **-ru** (including **-te iru**) generally heightened this feature more than **-ta** (including **-te ita**) in verbal clauses, while the reverse was true with Nominal plus Copula clauses.

Also, as with Explanation, the forms **-te iru** and **-te ita**, when considered together, heightened this feature more than the simple **-ru** and **-ta** forms. In the first group, **-te iru** heightened this feature more than **-te ita**. Szatrowski (1985a: 186) concludes that the **-te iru** and **-te ita** forms tend to give "backgrounded supportive information", which is why the forms which include the **-te-** heighten both Description and Explanation.

Szatrowski feels that Description and Explanation are comparable. They differ, however: **-ru** tends to be more Descriptive than **-ta**, and **-ta** tends to be more Explanatory than **-ru**. Note, however, that **-ru** includes **-te iru**, whose heightening effect is significantly greater than that of **-te ita** for Description. This might be what was giving **-ru** its high value. Comparing the simple **-ru** and **-ta** forms (Szatrowski 1985a: 185) shows that **-ta** is more Descriptive than **-ru** in two out of the three cases. Perhaps the difference is not so big. In any case, it is true of both "background" features that the forms with **-te-** tend to heighten them more than those without.

3.3.6 Summary of Results

Pastness was associated with the **-ta** form across the board, in fact, to such an extent that Szatrowski deemed it unnecessary to test this feature in the second survey. Because the **-ta** form is traditionally

defined as the past tense form, these results should not be overly surprising.

Narrative Events also tended to be marked by use of the **-ta** form, but Szatrowski found that there was a continuum with regarding the likelihood that a particular type of clause would represent a Narrative Event.

Affirmative verbal clauses without a **-te-**, including straight **-ru**, were higher on the scale than those containing a **-te-**. Negative and adjectival clauses, along with those containing a nominal plus copula, were least likely to be marked by the students as representing Narrative Events. In addition to the clauses which allow a t/a alternation, the **V-te** gerund, which is quite prevalent in oral narrative, showed up as being very likely to represent a Narrative Event.

Contrary to expectations, Continuity also showed up as being associated with **-ta**. But Szatrowski notes that Narrative Eventhood moves the plot forward. It is often communicated by a **-ta** clause. It should not be surprising if a **-ta** clause is considered to show Continuity, that is, the feeling that there is something more to come.

The results for Speaker A's Experience and Vividness show a relationship between these two features, based on participant-tracking (or, as Iwasaki will later say, Speaker's Perspective). Szatrowski finds this relationship important enough to write a separate paper about it

(Szatrowski 1985b). In essence, Speaker A's experience is associated with **-ta** and Vividness with **-ru**, but this varies, depending on who the clause is about. Clauses about the speaker's in-group (logically reflecting Speaker's Experience) tend to have a **-ta**. However, when such clauses have the **-ru** form, they are perceived as being more Vivid, while those about others tend to be more Vivid when they have a **-ta**. Szatrowski accounts for this with a participant-tracking function of the t/a form. This participant-tracking function becomes redundant when the subjects are overtly marked, and the t/a forms are free to perform another function, i.e. Vividness.

Generality tended to have the **-ru** form, but there was the additional result that the simple **-ru** and **-ta** forms tended to enhance this feature more than the forms combined the **-te-** suffix. Characterization also tended to be associated with the **-ru**. This tendency was not conclusive, however. The **-te-** suffix tended to heighten this feature.

The results for Evaluation and Emotionality were inconclusive. The former showed a slight tendency to be associated with the **-ru**. The results for Emotionality differed between the two surveys, so no definite conclusions could be drawn.

With regard to Explanation and Description, clauses which contained the **-te-** suffix tended to enhance these "background"

functions. The results indicate that the **-te iru** and the **-te ita** forms tend to give supportive information, rather than to advance the plot.

3.4 Iwasaki's Approach

3.4.1 Introduction

In his doctoral dissertation (1988) and later in his book (1993), Iwasaki introduces a theory of the speaker's perspective which he applies to the distribution of the **-ta** and **-ru** forms in past tense narrative. This theory helps identify the reason behind the high frequency of the "non-past" **-ru** form in narratives about past experience and provides an explanation for the asymmetrical behavior of the tense forms with relation to those clauses with first person subjects and those with non-first person subjects. These two types of clauses are treated differently based on their different perspective.¹¹

The theory predicts not only a split between the behaviors of first-person and non-first-person clauses. It also provides a rationale for the association of the **-ta** form with first-person and the **-ru** form with third-person (or non-first-person). A non-temporal use of tense forms occurs in a large number of narrative clauses. This is possible because past time is assigned as a default to the narrative as a whole, and the forms are free to perform another function. If the forms served only a temporal function, you would expect most clauses other than interactive and generic clauses to be in the past tense for a past time narrative.

3.4.2 Types of Subjectivity

Speaker's perspective falls under the broader category of subjectivity. According to Iwasaki, there are three types of subjectivity. In his dissertation (Iwasaki 1988: 97-98), they are defined as speaker's attitude (evaluation), speaker's point of view, and speaker's perspective. Subsequently (Iwasaki 1993: 5-12) he modified this to say that the speaker can be the center of evaluation and attitude, of deictic elements, and, finally, of epistemological perspective.

Speaker's attitude shows how the speaker evaluates a certain situation. The speaker is the center of evaluation and attitude. It is normally expressed lexically in form of exclamatory particles, epithets (for example, social titles such as **o-kaasan** 'mother', **sensei** 'teacher', or **ka-choo** 'section chief'), forms reflecting social relationship, etc., but it can also be conveyed morphologically with honorific (**o-yomi ni naru** 'read'), gratitude (**-te kureru**), and adversity (**-te shimau**) or adversity passive (**Inu ni nigerareta** "The dog went and ran away on me.") constructions. He also gives a historical example with the genitive case particles **no** and **ga** in Old/Middle Japanese. The former was used when the speaker was favorably disposed toward the referent of the nominative noun, and the latter otherwise.

The second form of subjectivity is concerned with how the speaker's physical and metaphorical position is expressed. The speaker is

the center of deictic elements. Verbs of directionality such as verbs of motion (come, go, **kuru** and **iku** in both English and Japanese) and verbs of giving and receiving (**yaru**, **kureru**, and **morau** in Japanese). Here, Iwasaki points out a significant difference in English and Japanese with respect to the directional verbs. In English, these verbs are influenced by the position of both the speaker and hearer (the speaker can take the position of the hearer in using 'come' as in, for example, "I'll come over right away," when talking on the phone), while in Japanese, it is only the speaker's position which determines the choice. For Iwasaki, this implies that the speaker occupies a more "celebrated" (1988 : 71-72) position in Japanese.

It is the third type of subjectivity, speaker's perspective, which is important to his thesis. Iwasaki contends that speaker's perspective affects the choice of the t/a forms **-ta** and **-ru** in first person narrative, except in special situations. Speaker's perspective is the relationship between the speaker and what they report; it refers to the distance between the speaker and the information they are conveying. It is a cognitive principle related to the epistemic difference between the first and third persons (Iwasaki 1988: 102), and linguistic phenomena which demonstrate this perspective are sensitive to whether the speaker themselves is an experiencer of or a participant in a particular situation.

When the speaker is a participant it is primary perspective. Secondary perspective occurs when the speaker is merely an observer.¹²

3.4.3 Functions of the **-ta** and **-ru** Forms

The two tense morphemes, **-ta** and **-ru**, have both a temporal and a non-temporal function. In the temporal use of the forms, there are two kinds of tense: absolute (deictic) where the tense relates situations to speech time, and relative, which reflects the temporal relationship between two situations and is not concerned with speech time. The **-ta** form is used for past (or prior) and **-ru** refers to non-past (or concurrent). Some researchers, however, feel that tense in Japanese is always relative, which would explain why there are fewer "past" tense forms than might be expected in texts relating past situations. For example, Syromyatnikov (Majewicz 1985:102-103) is concerned with the dichotomy between sequentiality and simultaneity, and he uses the terms antecedent and non-antecedent, respectively, for the tenses represented by the two forms. This situation is especially clear in dependent clauses, where the tense forms reflect the temporal relationship between two predicates.

Temporal and non-temporal use of **-ta** and **-ru**

For Iwasaki, the temporal function of the **-ta** and **-ru** forms is basic, but there are conditions where this temporal use is suspended or not necessary. Then, the forms can perform another function, namely

that of indicating speaker's perspective. In narrative, the temporal frame in which most utterances appear is usually clear from the context. In these utterances the **-ta** and **-ru** forms are free to convey speaker's perspective.

Temporal use within the narrative

In a narrative most of the utterances allow a non-temporal use of the forms. Still, there are several kinds of clauses which require that tense be indicated. (Iwasaki 1988: 156-166) A relatively common form of non-narrative clause found in interactive discourse--what Iwasaki terms a meta-comment, where the speaker is interacting with the hearer--is a prime example of this. These interactional or commentary clauses do not allow tense alternation. They are in non-past to reflect the direct interaction between speaker and hearer. The **-ru** form is used for this deictic tense function. Such clauses are outside the story itself.

Generic statements are also non-narrative clauses. Iwasaki separates generic statements into two types: limited generics, which allow tense alternation, and true generics, which do not. This division is similar to the one made by Szatrowski between weaker and stronger generality. The true generics, like the interactional clauses, are not part of the actual narrative and are always in non-past tense.

In addition to the non-narrative clauses mentioned above, there are narrative clauses which do not allow a non-temporal function for the

t/a forms. Scene-setting utterances, as the name suggests, establish the temporal and locative/location/spatial framework of the narrative. The occurrence of a temporal deictic adverb such as "a couple of years ago" or "when" signals such an utterance. For past time narrative, these clauses are always in past tense.

Another type of narrative clause which does not permit a non-temporal use of the **-ta** and **-ru** forms is the so-called "flashback" clause. The t/a form in this type of clause defines the temporal relationship of a given situation versus situations represented by other clauses in the narrative. A flashback clause interrupts the temporal order of the narrative by relating a chronologically earlier situation later in the narrative. It always contains the **-ta** form. A flashback situation can actually extend through a series of clauses, forming a subplot to the story.

To recap, the majority of the clauses in the narrative allow the t/a forms to be used for something other than tense. For Iwasaki, the forms identify the speaker's perspective. However, there are some environments where the forms must designate tense. Interactional utterances and pure generic statements require the **-ru** form, while scene setting and flashback clauses always contain the past tense **-ta**.

3.4.4 The Data

Text types

Like Sztatrowski, Iwasaki analyzes only oral, first-person narratives. He identifies two types of text; literary and colloquial. In the former, the speaker is a reporter only, while in the latter, both reporter and participant. The difference between the two text types manifests itself grammatically and on the discourse level (Iwasaki 1988: 46-48): with the behavior of the first and second person pronouns, internal predicates, which indicate essentially what a person is experiencing (e.g. **kanashii** 'sad'), reflexive pronouns, etc.

The pronoun situation is fairly straightforward. Literary texts do not contain first- and second-person pronouns, while colloquial texts do. The situation with internal predicates requires a bit more explanation, but they also behave differently in the two types of texts. Because the narrator can take the point of view of different participants in a literary text, internal predicates in Japanese behave differently than they do in a colloquial text. Expressions such as **kanashii** "sad," **kowai** "be scared," and **sabishii** "lonely" are examples of internal predicates and they are, accordingly, highly subjective.

Normally, a narrator/reporter does not have direct access to another person's mind. Therefore, the morphology differs for first-person and third-person subjects. For example, **kanashi-katta** "was sad" can be

applied directly to first person subject. With third-person subjects, the directness of the adjective must be mitigated by using either **kanashigatteita** or **kanashii soo datta**, both of which essentially mean "seemed/appeared to be sad." This restriction is, however, lifted in a literary text. The direct form of the adjective can be used, because the narrator can "get inside another person's head."

It is colloquial text where subjectivity (including, naturally, speaker's perspective) makes its presence felt. Here the speaker actually communicates with the addressee. This is why Iwasaki limits his data to first-person narrative. In a literary text the narrator can take various points of view. The situation quickly becomes too complicated to keep track of speaker's perspective.

Clauses investigated

Because tense behaves differently in subordinate clauses, Iwasaki only considers t/a forms in independent clauses. An independent clause ends in a finite predicate form optionally followed by a sentence extension marker such as **wake (desu)** or **no (desu)** and/or a sentence ending particle such as **ne** 'OK' or **yo** 'I'm telling you'. He rules out (Iwasaki 1988: 116) clauses ending in conjunctions such as **kara**¹³ 'because' or **noni** 'though'. However, he includes most of the clauses (81.2%) with **kedo** 'but'. These are clauses in which he has determined

that **kedo** has lost its semantic content and is in an independent clause without a following clause upon which it would normally depend.

Sentence extensions (SE) play an important role in oral narratives. Over 90% of the 547 clauses¹⁴ analyzed in his data contained an SE. In written text that he analyzed, only about 6% of the clauses had one. Iwasaki feels that sentence extensions are essentially a feature of spoken discourse. At least, the function of SE differs in the two types of discourse. For example, some research into written text (Shimozaki 1981) has indicated that the **no de aru** construction frequently occurs at the end of a paragraph and acts as a cohesive device. Iwasaki feels that the frequency of the SE construction in oral narrative is due to the fact that it is analytic and therefore organizationally less complex than a clause without the SE. Thus it is preferred in the more informal, often off-the-cuff oral narrative.

In a clause without SE, the propositional and interactional components of the clause are both carried by the final verb, while in the SE construction, the two components are separate. In the latter there are two places where the tense form is found: with the pre SE predicate and with the copula following the SE. It is generally only the copula, which acts as the interactional predicate for the clause, which carries both social and temporal (tense) deixis.¹⁵ Actually, because this post-SE portion of the clause is interactional, only the non-past **desu/da** is

grammatical (Iwasaki 1988: 186). Also, a number of clauses in the data were missing the copula after the SE, and Iwasaki indicates that only the non-past form, (politeness depending on the context) could be put in this position.

The predicate immediately preceding the SE is used to show the narrative event, and, normally the polite **-masu** or **desu** forms are not found in this position. This does not indicate plain register; because the social deixis is indicated by the copula following the SE, social deixis is simply neutralized in pre-SE predicates. Both **-ru** and **-ta** are used in these predicates in clauses which obviously represent past events, so temporal deixis is also neutralized here.

Iwasaki concludes that a **-ru** form in the pre-SE position can refer to a past situation, while a **-ru** form in a clause without an SE can only refer to a non-past situation. In other words, the pre-SE position is where the **-ru** and **-ta** forms lose their temporal function.

3.4.5 Information Accessibility, Transitivity and Speaker's Perspective

Speaker's perspective and its relation to the distribution of the t/a forms are discussed in some detail above. Adding its relation to information accessibility and transitivity provides a rationale for the association of the **-ta** form with primary perspective and **-ru** with secondary perspective, respectively.

Information accessibility is a term for the metaphorical distance between the speaker and the information being related. It is the concept by which perspective is defined. When the speaker is involved in a situation described by a clause as both a reporter and a participant, they have direct access to the information being communicated in that clause. When the speaker is not directly involved and is merely reporting a situation, there is no direct access to the information, and a secondary perspective is present.

The two concepts, perspective and degree of information accessibility are not identical. Perspective is digital while information accessibility is analog (or scalar). That is, the former is made up of two¹⁶ discrete types, primary and secondary, while the latter works on a continuum. Also, within primary perspective itself, there are different degrees of information accessibility. The narrator's volitional or controlled acts entail greater access to the information than do non-volitional or non-controlled ones. Secondary perspective, on the other hand, does not allow this distinction. The narrator can not have direct access to what another person is thinking.

Differences in information accessibility are manifested grammatically through the use of evidential words such as **soo**, **mitai**, and **rashii**--all of which mean something along the lines of 'it seems/appears that'. They can also be manifested in predicate

morphology, in this case, stativity. Iwasaki maintains that there is an inverse relationship between degree of information accessibility and stativity. Namely, the greater the degree of information accessibility for a particular situation, the less stative the predicate of that clause is, and vice versa.

This relationship with stativity is where transitivity comes in. The less stative an event is, the more transitive it is. This is also an inverse relationship. It implies that the relationship between transitivity and information accessibility is directly proportional. Thus higher transitivity is associated with primary perspective and lower transitivity with secondary perspective.

Note that there is one place where transitivity and information accessibility differ slightly. Internal state predicates are always stative, and therefore low on the transitivity scale. Yet, they show a high degree of information accessibility if the clause is in the first person.

Consider also that the speaker has little access to the information in negative and irrealis situations. Thus, there is a tendency for these clauses to have the **-ru** form even with first-person clauses, as is seen in the section discussing exceptions to the expected pattern.

Some of the features associated with high transitivity are the presence of volition, control, and the inclusion of both onset and

terminal points to the action. In the latter case the agent initiates the act and has control over the onset. On the transitivity scale proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), "past tense form is inherently associated with higher transitivity." (Iwasaki 1988: 139) Traditionally, the **-ta** form in Japanese has been considered past and perfective, depending on whether one views it as a tense form, and aspect form, or a combination of both. Both pastness and perfectivity are high on the transitivity scale. The **-ru** form, being non-past and imperfective, is low on the scale. All of this is reasonably signaled by the association between **-ta** with primary perspective and **-ru** with secondary.

3.4.6 Results

The expected pattern in past first-person narrative is for first-person clauses to contain the **-ta** form and non-first-person clauses to have the **-ru**. This pattern is seen in the data. Of the 215 first-person clauses found in the 16 narratives investigated, 169 (nearly 79%) have the **-ta**, and nearly 65% of the 332 non-first-person clauses have the **-ru** form. This is Iwasaki's canonical pattern. We now discuss the deviant cases.

-ru in first-person clauses

Normally, first-person primary perspective clauses contain the **-ta** form, and nearly 79% of the first-person clauses Iwasaki analyzed in his dissertation have this form. Of the 46 apparent exceptions found the

data, 41 can be explained by the fact that they are in lower transitivity (negative or stative) or non-narrative clauses (Iwasaki 1988: 142). Therefore, nearly 98% (210/215) of all first-person clauses either follow the stipulated pattern or are predicted by the information accessibility hypothesis.¹⁷

-ta in non-first-person clauses

The reverse situation has **-ta** forms occurring in either third-person or inanimate subject clauses. Based on Iwasaki's hypothesis, the **-ru** form should occur in these clauses, and nearly 65% (215/332) of the third-person and non-human clauses in the data contain this form. The task is to account for the remaining 35% of these clauses, i.e., those that have the **-ta** form. Iwasaki deals with these apparent exceptions on the basis of primary perspective infiltration. Primary perspective infiltrates a clause when the narrator is in reality the goal and recipient, a hidden experiencer, or a discoverer of a situation.

Goal or recipient

For example, if a clause contains expressions such as **kureru** 'give to me,' **-te kureru** 'do for me,' or **kuru** 'come', the narrator is acting as the goal or recipient for that clause. The number of such third-person clauses in the corpus was so small (3 out of 4 with **-te kureru** and 5 out of 7 with **kuru**) that one can only say that there is a possible tendency for **-ta** to be used in such clauses.

Hidden experiencer

There is another situation where the **-ta** form found in non-first-person clauses is produced by infiltration of primary perspective. This occurs in clauses where the predicate adjective occurs in the **-ta** form though the subject is non-first person. The narrator in this case is actually a hidden experiencer of the situation related by the clause. Iwasaki divides adjectives into three groups based on what he terms "experiencer role". Adjectives which refer to a person's (experiencer's) feeling or sensation have the experiencer role. Those adjectives which simply describe objects do not. Adjectives such as **sabishii** 'lonely' and **zannen** 'regrettable' are internal state adjectives. They always include the experiencer role, so they always have primary perspective. For adjectives such as **kurushii** 'painful' and **omoshiroi** 'interesting', the experiencer role is optional. The third group of adjectives (e.g. **shikakui** 'square' and **tsumetai** 'cold,') do not include the experiencer role.

Iwasaki acknowledges that, because noun phrases are often elided in Japanese, it is difficult to determine whether there is an experiencer or not. But he makes the claim (Iwasaki 1988: 148) that adjectives from the second group which have the **-ta** form will also have primary perspective. This argument seems circular. He says that non-first-person clauses which contain the **-ta** form are primary

perspective clauses and they have primary perspective because they have the **-ta**. However, he shows that adjectives of the second and third groups are found in clauses that have differing degrees of definiteness. This has an influence on objectivity and subjectivity and, therefore, the speaker's perspective.

In the data, adjectives in clauses with non-human subjects which described definite, non-generic situations had the **-ta** form. According to Iwasaki this pattern emerges because the narrator is actually the experiencer, and the perspective of the speaker is implicit in the utterances. For example, if a narrative contained the statement

- (3.5) Bīru wa oishikatta!
The beer was great!

it would communicate the subjective opinion of the narrator. It is fairly certain that the narrator tried the beer. Iwasaki (1988: 148) makes a distinction between the members of the pair:

- (3.6) Ano eiga wa omoshiroi.
That movie is interesting.

And

- (3.7) Ano eiga wa omoshirokatta.
That movie was interesting.

According to him, the former is an objective statement about the movie; i.e., it has a quality that appeals to everyone. The use of the **-ta** in the latter implies that the judgement is limited to the speaker's taste. The

same holds true for the sentence about the beer. The difference here is one of degree of objectivity or subjectivity.

Some adjectives are naturally subjective, as, for example, **samui** 'feel cold.' Compare this to **tsumetai** 'cold,' which is normally an objective adjective.

- (3.8) Biiru wa tsumetai.
Beer is cold.

However, in some contexts, **tsumetai** can also, become a subjective adjective. Saying (3.9) renders

- (3.9) Biiru wa tsumetakatta.
The beer was cold

judgement on the temperature of the beer.¹⁸

In summary, non-first person adjectives describing a definite situation with the **-ta** form have primary perspective. Those describing a generic one with the **-ru** form have secondary perspective. The former appear on the surface to be exceptions to the expected pattern. But they have primary perspective with the narrator as a hidden experiencer, so they actually follow the rule. Iwasaki found 18 such clauses in his data.

Discovery

The third situation where there is covert primary perspective is where the narrator is actually the discoverer of a situation. As with the hidden experiencer clauses discussed above, determining whether a clause describes a discovery requires a serious judgement call on the part

of the researcher. The narrator has two options for reporting a discovery; an explicit verb such as **mitsukeru** 'find' or a simple existential statement. The example from the data has the narrator in a state of panic. She thinks that she will drown. Then she notices a big fat woman in the water beside her. She reports this situation by simply using the existential verb **iru** 'be' in the **-ta** form. Again, it is mainly the fact that the verb has the **-ta** form that allows the analyst to deduce that it is not secondary perspective. However, semantically, this is a discovery situation. As such, it also explains one of the strange uses of the "past" tense discussed in a lot of the literature on Japanese tense and aspect. An example sometimes cited is:

- (3.10) *Ashita kaigi ga atta!*
 "Oh yeah, I have a meeting tomorrow."

The existential verb **aru** 'be' is in the **-ta** form though it is being used to describe a future situation.¹⁹

Unfortunately, Iwasaki does not give figures on how many non-first person clauses with the **-ta** form are actually relating discoveries, so it is impossible to determine the total number of **-ta** clauses accounted for by infiltration of primary perspective. He finds 8 goal/recipient clauses and 18 hidden experiencer clauses, leaving 91 third person or non-human subject clauses with **-ta** which must be explained by other means. Because he does not give numbers for

discovery, flashback, and scene-setting utterances, one can not know how many of the remaining 91 are accounted for.

3.5 Vividness Revisited

As we saw in the section about Szatrowski, Section 3.3, the **-ru** form and the **-ta** form heightened Vividness in some clauses. Szatrowski found that, on average, **-ru** heightens Vividness in first-person clauses, **-ta** in third-person clauses, and that the **-te-** form was in general highly rated for Vividness. She adduces a participant-tracking function for the t/a forms, with **-ta** generally being associated with sentences about the speaker or the speaker's in-group, and **-ru** primarily used for sentences about others. Iwasaki argues against the participant-tracking view because it does not account for the association of particular forms with respective participants. Conversely, an approach based on speaker's perspective, using both information accessibility and transitivity, accounts for these associations, as was shown above.²⁰

In any case, both approaches have the same forms associated with the same types of clauses, but they differ as to how they account for the distribution of the forms. Szatrowski uses an evidentiality approach, claiming that when the speaker has direct access to another's actions, the clause is more Vivid. This is borne out by the fact that two of her features, "vividness" and "speaker's experience", are heightened when the **-ta** form is used in third-person clauses. She feels the **-ta** form does not

heighten Vividness for first-person, because the speaker can not easily take an external view, and her "vividness" is defined partially by visual perception.

Iwasaki finds a much simpler and more elegant solution to the question of vividness: it results from the unexpected use of the t/a forms. Based on speaker's perspective, you would normally expect the **-ta** form for a first person clause. When you get a **-ru**, the situation becomes more vivid. The reverse works for third-person clauses, where a **-ta** heightens vividness. Soga's concludes that **-ru** heightens vividness across the board because he deals with third-person narrative. Foreground clauses about Soga's third-person main character should behave like the first-person clauses found in Iwasaki's first-person data, and the normal form should, therefore, be **-ta**. Thus, a **-ru** found in the position would be unexpected, and, accordingly, vivid. However, vividness can, as Iwasaki points out, also be produced by other factors, so it is difficult to predict. The use of the t/a forms is just one of the ways to produce vividness.

3.6 Notes

¹Majewicz (1985: 129) provides a list of both categories of aspectually marked forms.

²We consider this form to be aspectual, while the other 'aspectual' forms are more *Aktionsarten* in nature.

³The comments here about **-te iru** also generally hold for the past tense equivalent **-te ita**. All of these **V-te AUX** forms and compound verbs can have both the **-ru** and **-ta** tense markers.

⁴In these examples, it is the adverbials that produce the difference in meaning. The form **tabete iru** 'be eating/having eaten' by itself does not tell us whether it is progressive or resultive, and we use the adverbials to disambiguate between the two possible meanings.

⁵Shimamori (1991: 266) considers the perfective/imperfective pair to be the only aspectual opposition. The other "aspectual" categories are semantic extensions.

⁶The **-te aru** form can also occur here. Soga calls this form the sustentive aspect and it is essentially a purposeful result. It is similar to the result interpretation of the **-te iru** form.

⁷The passage is taken from Mishima, Yukio. "Siosai," in *Nohon-Bungaku-Zenshuu*, Chikuma-Shoboo, 1958, Vol. 83, pp. 312-13.

⁸The names of these features are capitalized in this section to emphasize that they are features.

⁹This order has been modified from Szatrowski's original dissertation, where the order was based upon which features were tested in which survey.

¹⁰Many of the examples Szatrowski gives are with the **no desu** sentence extension. (Szatrowski 1985a: 179)

¹¹In the book, he further splits this non-first person category into two: third person and inanimate. This division was based on a perceptual (conceptual) level rather than on linguistic facts (Iwasaki: Personal Communication). It is possible that these two categories may behave differently in the grammatical systems of other languages. In Japanese, however, they behave similarly with respect to t/a choice. Here, because we are concerned with t/a form choice, we will concentrate on the first-person / non-first-person distinction.

¹²In the book (Iwasaki 1993), primary perspective is called S(elf)-perspective. Secondary perspective is divided into O(ther)-perspective and Zero-perspective. O-perspective involves animate subjects, while Zero-perspective does not.

¹³In the book (Iwasaki 1993: 36), he also includes clauses ending in **kara** unless they are clearly connected to the clauses following them.

¹⁴Iwasaki is using the same narratives for sources in both the dissertation (1988) and the book (1993). However, he only considers only 451 of the clauses in the book, even though the number should be greater than the 547 investigated in the dissertation because he allows the independent **kara** 'because' clauses in the book. He attributes the discrepancy (Personal

Communication) to his erroneously including "deictic tense forms" and interactional clauses in the dissertation.

¹⁵Social deixis is reflected in the alternation of the performative honorific and the plain form, either in non-past or past tense. Thus, you have: **desu** (past: **deshita**) versus plain **da** (past: **datta**).

¹⁶As mentioned in a prior footnote, in the book, secondary perspective is further into two perspectives. There are therefore three perspectives: S(elf)-perspective, O(ther)-perspective, and Zero-perspective. (Iwasaki 1993: 17 - 18).

¹⁷It is not clear whether the four remaining clauses are accounted for. He mentions that there are six irrealis clauses. It is possible that the four are included in them, which would mean that they, too, are predicted by the information accessibility hypothesis.

¹⁸Polish treats this differently; it has only the one lexical form **zimny** 'cold,' but the syntax differs for the subjective and objective varieties. You have to use the dative **Jest mi zimno** for 'I'm cold.' If you were to use the simple adjectival form, **Jestem zimny**, you would be a corpse.

¹⁹This use of the **-ta** form to relate discovery in narrative could also be explained in terms of discourse function rather than from the viewpoint of speaker's perspective. Although it is about someone other than the narrator, it is an event along the plot line rather than description or background; therefore, the **-ta** is used.

²⁰Actually, since speaker's perspective looks at whether the speaker is a participant in a situation to determine clause perspective, it is not so far from participant-tracking.

CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS OF THE CAMPING STORY

4.1 Preliminary Remarks

In this chapter, we discuss the Polish data, which come from two sources: an oral narrative elicited during an interview with a native speaker of Polish, and a survey which was produced using this narrative. We need to look at the factors which influence choice in tense and aspect. With tense, the major influences that come to mind are: the overall tendency to relate past events in past tense, background,¹ tense sequencing in complex sentences involving subordination, generality, vividness, participant-tracking, and speaker's perspective (SP). Past events in past and background both encourage the use of past tense, while generalizations and some of the subordinate sequencing promote non-past. Vividness has also been generally associated with non-past use, but was discussed in Chapter 3, the use of past in Japanese can enhance vividness in some environments. The last two influencing forces, participant-tracking and SP, can promote the use of either tense, depending on the circumstances, and while they play an important role in Japanese, their relevance in Polish has yet to be determined.

The situation with aspect differs somewhat. The major premise of this work is that aspect use is determined by what discourse function the particular clause plays in the narrative. Determining the discourse function of a clause can sometimes be difficult, because it often requires

that one try to get into the mind of the narrator in order to guess their intentions regarding discourse function. We have to be careful to avoid circularity in establishing a connection between form and function. There are, however, grammatical clues, such as subordination, and real world indicators, such as sequencing logic, to help us. Another factor playing a role in aspect choice is negation, because it complicates the concept of change of state. It should be noted that, in addition to the role they play in aspect choice, the narrative functions of plot, description, and especially background also influence tense choice.

4.1.1 Factors Influencing Tense

Two forces favor the choice of past tense: past events and background. They differ in degree of strength. For narratives about events in the past, there is a logical inclination to relate the story using past tense verbs. This is only a tendency, however, and there are other factors, such as generalization and tense sequencing between clauses within one sentence, mentioned below, working in the other direction. In addition, entire narratives may be told in the historical present. Background, on the other hand, temporarily disrupts the temporal sequencing of a story by shifting a substory further back along the timeline. It requires the past tense, even in a narrative related in historical present. Background, rather than merely promoting past tense use, actually demands it.

Eternal, tenseless, or in Sztatrowski's terms, General statements, are in the non-past. A statement such as (4-1)

- (4-1) Slonce wschodzi na wschodzie.
The sun rises in the East.

is, we hope, an eternal statement. A particular instance of a sunrise, as part of the plot, could be related in the past tense. But, in general, it is expressed as (4-1). Weak generalities, while more temporally limited than eternal statements, are still valid over an extended period of time, encompassing the time the narrative is being related. One example of a weak generality I often run across in my English classes in Japan is part of a quiz. The question in (4-2)/a has two answers, given in (4-2)/b.

- (4-2)/a Why didn't Mrs. Bentley hear him knock?
(4-2)/b Because she is/was deaf.

It is necessary to explain to the students that, because the deafness is still in effect now (unless Mrs. Bentley has undergone a miraculous cure or has passed away), both the present and past are possible. There are some instances of these generalities in the data. Thus, in the discussion of the data, it is necessary to differentiate them from the effects of tense sequencing in subordinate clauses.

Tense sequencing (or the lack thereof) is another possible factor promoting non-past tense use in a past narrative. In English, the tense in a subordinate clause normally undergoes a shift when the verb of the clause is in the past. This does not, however, normally occur in Polish. The tense in the subordinate clause remains the same, leaving some

clauses in non-past. One concern that must be addressed here is how subordinated sequencing is related to the plot, description, and background discourse functions. A subordinated clause or group of clauses constitute a substory with its own narrative structure. In such cases subordination and substory become isomorphic.

The final three factors that influence tense choice are participant-tracking (Szatrowski), SP (Iwasaki), and vividness. They are all discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 3 and summarized below. Participant-tracking, as its name suggests, is used to keep track of individual participants in the narrative, dividing them into those in the speaker's in-group (including the speaker) and those who are not. Essentially, clauses about the former tend to be in the "Past" (-**ta**), while those about the latter occur in the "non-past" -**ru** form. For Iwasaki, this participant-tracking function of the t/a forms is part of the much more far-reaching phenomenon/theory of speaker's perspective (SP). SP accounts for apparent exceptions to this pattern of t/a form choice in inanimate and third person clauses and explains the basis of the association of the particular forms with their functions. Vividness is influenced by the interaction of t/a choice and SP; rather than being simply associated with the Non-Past across the board as Soga suggests (in Section 3.2.4 of Chapter 3 in this work), it is actually brought about by the unexpected use of the t/a forms. You would normally expect the -**ta** form for a first person clause, and use of a -**ru** makes the clause more

vivid. With 3rd person clauses the situation is reversed; a **-ta** heightens vividness. A more detailed discussion of vividness is found in Chapter 3.

This tracking, or SP, function of the t/a forms plays an important, and perhaps essential, role in Japanese. It can often be quite difficult to determine who or what the subject of a particular clause is. Subjects are more often than not elided, and there are no overt grammatical markers to give the listener/reader clues as to who the subjects are. The t/a forms, therefore, fulfill this function where possible (that is, where they do not have to fulfill another function, such as tense marking in background). In Polish the subject is often deleted. Still, the verb in the past overtly marks person, number, and gender, making it a fairly simple task to determine the subject of a particular clause. Therefore, one might not expect as much of a need for an additional participant-tracking device. Keeping an open mind, however, we need to look at the data to determine if there are any indications of such a function.

If participant-tracking or SP are not at issue in Polish, then we need to return to the traditional perception of vividness as resulting from the use of the non-past in a past narrative (Soga). The data contain a number of clauses with the non-past; our job is to determine whether they are there to perform a vividness function, or whether perhaps they perform some other function, such as tense sequencing or generality.

4.1.2 Factors Influencing Aspect Choice

As discussed in Chapter 2, a major premise in this thesis is that it is narrative structure (and time frame) that determines unmarked tense/aspect choice. Plot verbs, which are in the clauses that move the story line along, are perfectives in past tense. Verbs found in description, i. e., in clauses describing states (including actions in process) along the story line, are imperfectives. The majority of verbs in these two categories in a typical narrative about a past event tend to be in past, but they can, in instructions and historical present, be found in non-past, too. Background, the final category, has clauses relating both events and states which are temporally shifted backwards, and, therefore, contains both perfective and imperfective verbs. These clauses have to be in the past tense, regardless of the story's time frame. One of the telltales for background is the existence of some sort of subordination, but this subordination is not always grammatically explicit, and there is a possibility of confusion between background and a temporally shifted substory.

Negation is also important in narrative structure. A negated clause relates an irrealis situation and, within Hopper's framework, should be background. However, the text (along with the responses to the survey) gives a number of examples of perfectives in negative clauses, which is contrary to Hopper's hypothesis. One thing that data shows is

a tendency toward vacillation in aspect choice in negated clauses. This phenomenon is discussed below.

4.2 The Data

The data used for analysis come from two sources. The first source was a recording of a native speaker's anecdote about a camping trip she took. The speaker was a non-English-speaking sophomore at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Poland. The interviewer, who was present during the recording, asked her to tell about any experience she had in the past. The interview was conducted on an informal basis in a dorm room with other students present and the tape recorder was turned on as unobtrusively as possible partway during the discussion. A transcript of the narrative is given in Appendix P-1, and a rough translation follows in Appendix P-2. The verbs which were tested in the follow-up survey are numbered and in boldface along with their translated equivalents. Each verb is also followed by a one- or two-letter abbreviation indicating the t/a form. For the finite forms, the first letter shows the tense and the second, the aspect. Thus, pi, pp, ni, and np indicate past imperfective, past perfective, non-past imperfective, and non-past perfective, respectively. Because the infinitives are tenseless, only the aspect is indicated, with either an i(mperfective or a p(erfective). An uppercase t/a abbreviation indicates that there is actually only one aspect form for that particular lexical item. A question mark in the

abbreviation signifies that the verb could be either aspect. In addition to being in boldface, the infinitives are doubly marked by being italicized.

4.2.1 Survey Methodology

The survey was carried out in two separate classes at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, Poland. There were 53 respondents to the survey, but the handwriting on one form was so difficult to read that it was discarded, leaving a total of 52. During the survey, the transcription was given with 175 blanks which the respondents were to fill in with verbs. Nearly all of the verbs, both finite and infinitives, were replaced with blanks. Some few were left as is, mainly those where no variation in response choice is possible. For example, infinitives following a form of **zaczac** 'to begin' were left as in the original because only an imperfective is considered grammatical in this position. Still, 175 items provide a sizable sample.

The respondents were instructed to fill in each blank with the appropriate form² of the verb found in the parentheses following the blank. The only other piece of information included in the instructions was that the original story teller was female. This helped avoid confusion in form choice for two reasons: Polish verbs must be conjugated for gender in the past tense, requiring the respondents to provide the form; and the informant elided first person subject in the discourse. Accordingly, the respondents knew that the forms for the first person (both singular and plural) past tense ended either in **-lam** or

-lysmy rather than **-lem** or **-lismy**. Though there was no strict time limit placed on the survey, the students were given the survey during one class period (45 minutes). The majority of them completed it during the class, but several students remained a bit longer.

In discussions with native speakers, it had been suggested that only the infinitive of the imperfective need be provided in the parentheses, because that is normally considered to be the base form. However, there was some concern that this might lead to a bias toward the imperfective. Therefore, wherever possible, the infinitive forms of both the imperfective and perfective verbs were given following the blanks. Prior discussion with native speakers had determined that some of the verbs in the text occurred only in one aspect, or else that one form was used for both aspects, and, in these cases, only one form was given. However, some respondents supplied a lexically similar verb in order to provide a perfective near equivalent. In all cases, except for the 17 infinitive slots, the respondents were allowed freedom in tense choice.

We present here a portion of the the survey including the instructions and the first few lines of the text the respondents saw. Diacritics were added by hand.

Wiek _____
 Miasto rodzinne _____
 Plec _____
 Poziom wykształcenia _____

Proszę uzupełnić brakujące luki odpowiednią formą tego czasownika, tak aby pasowała do treści zdania i całego opowiadania. Osoba opowiadająca jest kobieta.

<1> ...klasa. Cały rok następny, właśnie cała taczwartą klasa [_____] (1) (zapowiadać /zapowiedzieć) się dość ciężko, bo to wiadomo, raz, że egzaminy maturalne, później egzaminy na studia. <2> W > związku z czym [_____] (2)(chcieć) , no strasznie [_____] (3) (chcieć) jakos tak dosyć na luzie [_____] (4) (spędzać /spędzić) wakacje, gdzieś [_____] (5) (wyjeżdżać/wyjechać) po prostu [_____] (6) (odpoczywać/odpocząć). <3> I no i jednak trochę [_____] (7) (spóźnić / spóźnić) się

The survey results are simply a tool for determining the motives behind the narrator's t/a choices and should not be considered a full-blown statistical analysis. For example, there was no control for demographics. The respondents were all university students, most were female, and many were from one region in Poland, the area in and around Poznan. Another concern is that there should have been a control group to test the original story on, asking them to correct any errors in the original text. In addition, there was no chance for post-test interviews, which would be necessary to show alternatives and reasons for an interviewee's having diverged from the choice made by the original story-teller. Finally, the original story was archived. Ideally, when a majority of those surveyed disagreed with the original story-teller, the story should have been re-written with their verb choices and shown to

her to see what her comments might have been. The survey, unfortunately, was conducted over ten years after the original data collecting, and there was no way to locate the narrator.

4.2.2 Organization of Results

In each of the Appendices P-3 through P-6, the resulting data are divided into three main groups; T & A, T (Only), and A (Only). We use P-3 as an example here because it gives the combined results for all the blanks. Of the 175 blanks, 113 allowed choice for both tense and aspect. This group can be called the Tense and Aspect (T & A) Group. This group allowed three choices--Past Imperfective, Past Perfective, and Non-past Imperfective. Actually, Non-past perfective was also possible, but there was only one slot out of the 113 where a significant number of respondents (including the speaker herself) used this form ((72) **nie zrobi** 'will not do'), and this was due to tense sequencing with relation to the tense of the verb in the matrix sentence.³ Non-past perfectives are more likely to be found in instructions or directions rather than anecdotes.

As mentioned earlier, there were some verbs (45 in all) which were thought to have only one aspect form--either mono-aspectual verbs or a single form representing both aspects--and for which, accordingly, only one form was provided. This group is called the T Group because the respondents could only provide the tense. The breakdown for the 45 forms in this T Group is as follows: 41 of the verbs were imperfective, 1 was perfective, and 3 could be either.⁴

The remaining 17 slots could be filled in only by infinitive forms. Consequently, because the students could only choose between aspect forms, this small group is labeled the A Group.

One comment about the T Group must be made here. As mentioned before, consultation with native speakers and dictionaries had determined which verbs did not occur in pairs. However, during the survey, the respondents occasionally filled in their own, lexically similar (or sometimes non-standard) verb to provide a different aspect from the form given in the blank. A follow-up survey is needed to investigate these verbs. There are also suppletive⁵ aspect pairs or closely related verbs such as **wiedzieć/dowiedzieć się** 'know/find out'. **Wiedzieć** occurred twice in the original narrative and it could be argued that **dowiedzieć się** should be given as its aspectual mate. For this survey, only **wiedzieć** was given and the slots are classified as T Only, and the aspect choice was skewed by our decision. There was a mix-up in communication immediately prior to the survey that affected one slot in the A Group. Only the imperfective was given for one of the A-Group slots, **(24)wędrować** 'wander'. Being an infinitive, it allowed no possible choice in tense. In spite of this, several respondents provided their own perfective, **powędrować**, for this infinitive. If **powędrować** had been provided as an option, the results for this verb could have been very different. Such problematic items are discussed later in the analysis.

Table 4.1 gives the numbers for the groups.

Table 4.1

Tense & Aspect	113
Tense Only	45
Aspect Only	17
Total Slots	175

4.2.3 Explanation of Appendices P-3, P-4, P-5, and P-6

The results of the survey along with the original choices are organized into four appendices. P-3 gives the combined percentages from the survey along with the original choices made by the speaker. It is used as an overall reference because it displays the choices made by the speaker and indicates the percentages of respondents who chose each form. P-4 concentrates on the choices made by the speaker, though it also gives the percentages of respondents selecting those same forms and indicates, with boldface type, those chosen by at least 90% of the respondents. The third appendix, P-5, focuses on the results of the survey, and lists only those forms chosen by 90% or more of the respondents, although forms matching those used originally are in uppercase. It forms the basis for the discussion of the survey results. Appendix P-6 lists those slots which show the most variation in responses during the survey. Essentially P-5 and P-6 are in complementary distribution; the former lists responses in which there was consensus and the latter lists those which lack consensus. Appendix P-6 plays an important role in the discussion of factors

influencing tense and aspect choice, because it is necessary to account for any variation in response.

Each appendix has nine columns. The first column gives the number of the blank, followed by four doublets, each consisting of a word and a number. The word is a possible form for that blank and the following number indicates the percentage of respondents choosing it. We explain why some of the percentages do not add up to 100 in the following section.

The first appendix is the most complex and requires a bit more explanation. Appendix P-3 gives the percentage results for the survey and also shows the choices made by the speaker in uppercase. The results are divided into the three groups: T & A, T Only, and A Only. For all three groups, in each line, the first number gives the number of the blank in which the verb was found. Following this are four alternating columns of forms and numbers. For the T & A Group, the columns give the Past Imperfective, Past Perfective, Non-past Imperfective, and finally Other, in that order. The percentage of respondents selecting a particular form is given right after the form itself. For the T Group, the order is Past, Non-past, and two Other slots, along with the relevant percentages. The A Group has Imperfective, Perfective, and two Other columns. The entries for the Other columns for all groups are, of course, optional; if no respondent provided an alternative form for a slot, there is no entry for that slot. For slots where 90 or

more of the respondents chose one form, the slot number, the selected form, and the percentage for that form are all in boldface type.

As mentioned earlier, each of the appendices is divided into three groups based on the degrees of freedom in choice regarding tense and aspect. In some ways it might have made things easier to understand had all the slots been given in one overall group in the order they occurred. However, the columns would not have corresponded because of the difference in degrees of freedom. Hence, the division holds.

Some comments on the forms given in the appendices must be made. In interest of economy, the reflexive particle **sie** was left out of the appendices. However, because the lexical meaning of the verb itself changes with the presence or absence of this particle, it is included in the discussions. In addition, some of the respondents used person, number, and gender endings in their responses that differed from those used by the original text. As these differences had no bearing on tense or aspect, only the endings from the original text are given.

4.2.4 The Numbers

The percentages do not always add up to 100. Sometimes the total of the percentages for a single slot exceeds 100% because some of the respondents gave more than one response for a single blank. In other words, they considered more than one of the forms to be possible. All responses were figured in. An example of this is (59):

#	P-IMP	P-PERF	N-P IMP	OTHER
59	SMAKOWALA87	zasmakowala 12	smakuje6	

This is a total of 105%. No particular instructions were given regarding multiple responses to one blank, and this occurred in only a few places. This result shows the variation in responses.

In addition, sometimes the percentage of a form found in the Other column was included in the percentage of one of the other forms in the same entry, for example, in (37):

37 OPALALYSMY*96 opallysmy2 opalamy0 opalanie(l)42

The 42% for the nominalized form **opalanie** was added to the percentage for the past imperfective **opalalysmy**, giving a total of 96% for that column. Polish shows aspect pairing for derivative nouns. The respondents could thus have used the perfective nominal **opalenie**, but they did not. Thus, this selection is relevant to aspect choice. Note, too, that the total percentage is only 98%, because one of the respondents did not fill in the blank. Still, well over 90% chose the imperfective. The nominal neutralizes tense and it is impossible to determine directly whether the respondents would have chosen past or non-past. However, no one chose the actual non-past form and everyone who provided a finite verb chose the past form. It seems likely that past tense would no doubt have won out, had the respondents been forced to choose a finite verb.

Another example of where the numbers were shifted is in (67).

67 chwytała0 chwyciła*102 chwyta0 POCHWYCILA(P)25

Here 25% of the students (and the original speaker) used **pochwyciła** rather than **chwyciła**. **Chwyciła** is the "standard" past perfective. But

pochwycila is also a past perfective with essentially the same meaning. Therefore, the results were combined in the past perfective column. The total is 102%, because one of the students decided that both forms were appropriate. In any case, more than 90% (actually, everyone) used a past perfective for this blank.

A similar example is seen in (75).

75 ZDAWALO81 zdalo*19 zdaje0 wydalo(P)2

has one of the students providing a completely different perfective verb **wydalo sie**, in place of the standard perfective **zdalo sie**. Notice that, in all three examples, the form to which the percentage was added is indicated by an asterisk. There are several places where the numbers have been modified in this way to simplify the analysis. This modification in the percentages is indicated with the aspect of the Other form being given in parentheses (P or I) and by marking the form whose percentage is being increased with an asterisk.

4.2.5 The 90%/10% Cut-off

The results would no doubt have been much more straightforward if the respondents were in complete agreement with each other and with the original speaker. This was not the case, even with something considered to be as fundamental as aspect choice. Because of this lack of harmony in choice, the results for the respondents have to be treated differently from those for the original speaker. The original speaker, being only one person, chose one and only one verb at each point. The

respondents varied in their responses to each blank. Some chose one form, others chose another, and still others occasionally chose something unexpected. At times they would fill in a different, but lexically related verb. At other times they would provide a participle or nominalized form of the verb. These choices are reflected in the Other columns in Appendix P-3.

With such variation, it is necessary to choose a cut-off point for what percent is significant. For this survey, 90% is used as the cut-off point.⁶ For example, with aspect choice, if one aspect had 90% or more of the respondents choosing it, and the other aspect had less than 10%, then the choice was significant. The same numbers were used for tense choice. As mentioned earlier, the choices meeting this 90% criterion are in boldface type in Appendix P-3.

4.3 Overall Statistical Results

4.3.1 Speaker's Aspect Choice

Where the original informant selected verbs that allowed choice for both tense and aspect (113 in all), she used 23 past imperfective, 65 past perfectives, and 25 non-past forms (all but one imperfective). For the T Group, she used past 31 times and Non-Past 14 times. And finally, she chose 4 imperfective Infinitives and 13 perfective ones. The selections made by the speaker are contained in P-3, but are organized in Appendix P-4.

The ratio between imperfective and perfective was calculated on the basis of the past choices from paired verbs (88 of 113) and the infinitives (16). In other words, the non-past choices from the T & A Group and the verbs from the T Group are not counted here. Out of a total of 104 relevant verbs, we get the following results:

Table 4.2
Overall Aspect Choice Results for Original Speaker

	Imp	Perf	Totals
Past tense:	22(25%)	66(75%)	88(T&A Group)
Infinitives:	3(19%)	13(81%)	16(A Group)
Both Groups:	25(24%)	79(76%)	104(Total)

These results show a preference for the perfective, in spite of the fact that the imperfective is given as the unmarked form in most literature dealing with Slavic aspect. The tendency for the perfective to be dominant also manifests itself in written text, as shown in Bogdan (1984).

The unpaired verbs from the T Group are not included in the figures given above. Recall that the respondents were given no choice of aspect with these verbs. Although some supplied their own alternate aspect forms, the results for these verbs are understandably skewed in favor of the forms provided in the survey. The speaker, however, told her story using these lexical items, which are almost exclusively in the imperfective. It is likely that she chose the verbs for cognitive reasons, specifically, because she wanted to relate states rather than events, but

the choice of these stative verbs determines the choice of aspect. If the T Only verbs (those which do not have aspect pairs) are figured in the total, the weighting changes, because, out of the 27 such verbs found in the past, 26 are imperfectives. Figuring in these one choice verbs gives the following results.

Table 4.3
Overall Aspect Choice Results for Original Speaker
(Including T Group)

Imperfective	Perfective	Total
51(39%)	80(61%)	131

Therefore, even if the unpaired verbs are figured in, perfective was still chosen more often than the imperfective. Thus the "unmarkedness" of the imperfective is questionable; markedness should be considered in context.

4.3.2 Speaker's Tense Choice

For the past/non-past distinction, the 158 finite verbs from the T&A and T Groups were examined. The resulting numbers are given in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Overall Tense Choice Results for the Speaker

	Past	Non-Past	Totals
T&A	88(78%)	25(22%)	113
T	30(67%)	15(33%)	45
Both Groups	118(75%)	40(25%)	158

This indicates an overall 3 to 1 preference for past over Non-Past. Still, one-quarter of the finite verbs describing a past time experience in Non-Past is a considerable number. Reasons for the choice of Non-Past are discussed below.

4.3.3 Respondents' Aspect Choice

For the T & A Class, where the respondents could choose verbs that allowed choice for both tense and aspect (113 in all), there were 75 verbs which had 90% or more agreement in form selection. Of those, the respondents chose 20 past imperfectives and 54 past perfectives. There was only one case where a non-past form met the 90% grade (**72**)zrobi, and that was discussed in Section 4.2.2.

The raw numbers and percentages for aspect selection are given in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5
Aspect Choice Results for Respondents

	Imp.	Perf.	Totals
Past tense	20(27%)	54(73%)	74(T&A)
Infinitives:	2(14%)	12(86%)	4(A)
Total	22(25%)	66(75%)	88(Both Groups)

As with the results for the original speaker (cf Table 4.2), these results also show a 3 to 1 preference for the perfective over the imperfective in the survey. As mentioned in the discussion about the speaker, there was some concern about whether to include the results for the T Group in the numbers for aspect choice. To repeat: the respondents were given

only one aspect form for these verbs in the survey. The respondents to the survey were given essentially no choice in how to tell the story and were basically forced to use the same verbs used by the original story teller. For aspect choice, we look at only those slots where they actually had a choice.

Of the remaining 38 verbs, there were 27 cases where neither aspect passed the 90% cut-off point, but where both forms had at least 10% each. Of these 27, 17 had the imperfective in the majority and 10, the perfective. There were 11 cases where neither the requirement of 90% for one form nor the one of 10% for each of the other forms was fulfilled. These were the cases of the most variation, with the percentages distributed among at least three different forms. The 38 verbs form the T&A Group in Appendix P-6. The 11 slots are in italics in order to separate them from the other 27.

While the high variation slots given in Appendix P-7 are not discussed as a group; comments on them are included in various observations made throughout the remainder of this chapter. For example, nine of the group of 27 are in negated clauses, and they are discussed in the section on negation.

4.3.4 Respondents' Tense Choice

Appendix P-5 gives a clear picture of how the respondents selected tense. There is only one verb in the non-Past column of the whole appendix. Therefore, out of 106 verbs achieving the 90% status, only one

non-past was selected. In fact, in looking at Appendix P-3, we notice that, out of all the 153 verbs allowing tense choice, there are only 10 non-past forms which were selected by more than 50% of the respondents. Example (4-3) shows these forms.

(4-3)

46	siedziala35	usiadla8	SIEDZI58	
72	robilo0	zrobilo0	robi2	ZROBI96
89	zachowywala42	zachowala0	ZACHOWUJE58	
102	zaczynala8	zaczela31	ZACZYNA62	
146	dusila23	zdusila0	DUSI77	
163	obserwowala44	zaobserwowala0	OBSERWUJE56	
140	mialam48		MAM52	miewam(1)2
142	chcieli31		CHCA63	chceliby6
147	gnebilo27		GNEBI69	chowa4
170	spala27		SPI73	

There are, in addition, 17 other slots where the non-past percentages were in the double digits, if barely. Given these results, there was an overwhelming predilection among the respondents for the past tense. We need to account for this deviation from the original text, where the speaker used non-past for 25% of her finite verbs. We also need to examine the reasons for the few (27) cases where at least some of the respondents chose non-past. Presumably these are not merely random variations.

Table 4.6
Overall Tense Choice Results for the Respondents
(90% and over)

Past	Non-Past	Totals
74(99%)	1(1%)	75(T&A)
31(100%)	0(0%)	31(T)
105(99%)	1(1%)	106(Total)

4.4 Detailed Analysis

4.4.1 Preliminaries

A detailed, all-encompassing discussion of the results would account for each clause. But, as there are 175 slots in the text, such an approach is not really feasible. Instead, I provide discussions, with examples, of the various factors influencing tense and aspect selection. This may not be the most comprehensive way of doing things, but it deals with the data in a fairly economical fashion.

4.4.2 General Observations

The percentages for perfective/imperfective choice were very close for the speaker and the respondents: a three to one preference for the perfective. There were only two cases (out of 88 past tense forms) where over 90% of the respondents disagreed with the aspect choice of the speaker. Interestingly enough, in both cases it was the same verb, though the choices were reversed. Recall that the numbers refer to the respondents, the uppercase forms to the choices made by the speaker.

(4-4)

125	siedziala90	USIADLA10	siedzi0
160	SIEDZIALA4	usiadla92	siedzi0

The fact that there were only two such cases indicates that, when there is high agreement (90% or more) among the respondents regarding aspect, the choice also agrees with that of the speaker. Either the verbs

themselves or the context lends itself to such consensus. However, there were 23 instances in which at least 10% of the respondents chose a different aspect from the one the informant did (cf. Appendix P-6). This shows that there is some variation. In some cases, more than 50% of the respondents chose a different form, and this variation warrants further discussion.

There is much more variation with regard to tense. In general, the speaker used non-past more than the respondents. In 12 of the 25 cases where the speaker chose the non-past in the T&A Group, 90% or more of the students disagreed with the speaker's choice of the non-past. However, faced with only a tense choice (T only Group), there was such disagreement only in 2 cases.

4.4.3 Tense Sequencing in Polish

In English, the following simple sentences,

(4-5)

John went to the store.
 John is going to the store.
 John will go to the store.

undergo a tense change when embedded in a matrix sentence where the main verb is in the past tense, thus becoming:

(4-6)

She noticed that John had gone to the store.
 She noticed that John was going to the store. (= on his way to)
 She noticed that John would go to the store.

In Polish, however there is no such tense shift. The Polish equivalents of the sentences in (4-5) and (4-6) are given in (4-7).

(4-7)

Jan poszedl<pp> do sklepu.
 Jan idzie<ni> do sklepu.
 Jan pojdzie<np> do sklepu.

Zauwazyła<pp>, ze Jan poszedl do sklepu.
 Zauwazyła<ni>, ze Jan idzie do sklepu.
 Zauwazyła<np>, ze Jan pojdzie do sklepu.

with the additional possibility of

(4-8)

Zauwazyła<pp>, ze Jan szedl<pi> do sklepu.
 I noticed that John had been going to (= on his way to) the store. (before we met)

It is the non-past clauses, especially the non-past imperfectives, that we are most interested in here. In the story, the original informant used the non-past quite a bit more than the survey respondents. A number of the places where she used non-past are related to clause embedding.

4.4.4 Interaction of the Influences on the Data

As suggested in Section 4.1, there are four forces which influence tense choice here. The first is the grammatical rule for tense embedding outlined above. In Polish, this permits a wider use of non-past than English. Another is the vividness factor, discussed in various places in the chapter on Japanese (Chapter 3). Unless SP (or Participant-tracking) plays a role in Polish, Vividness also promotes the non-past. If, on the

other hand, SP does influence t/a form choice, the t/a form used depends on which perspective the clause is in. The third factor has an influence opposite from that of the first two. That is, there is an overall tendency to relate a story about the past in past tense. The fourth factor, is the discourse function of background, which requires a past tense, even (or especially) in subordinated clauses. The other two discourse functions, plot and description, do not directly determine tense choice apart from the aspect of the verb.

If tense sequencing alone were operating here, the respondents (survey takers), who have more time to consider their options and make corrections, should follow the grammatical rule of tense sequencing more consistently than the informant, who had essentially no time to plan her utterances. In light of this, one might expect a greater frequency of non-past tense in the responses to the survey. This, however, was not the case. As indicated, it was the informant who used non-past more frequently. Now consider the second factor, vividness. The original speaker, having actually experienced what she is relating, should be able to regard the events as more vivid than the respondents, who are merely reading a tale. If vividness is a function of the non-past tense (as proposed by Soga), then the narrator can be expected to use the non-past more often. Conversely, we should expect the respondents to abide by the past time in past tense tendency. Moreover, they have more time to plan their choices than the original speaker did. Thus, they may also

take greater advantage of background than she did. To verify these predictions, we need to look at examples from the text where tense choice plays a role.

4.4.5 Subordination and Tense Selection (Sequencing and Background)

In the narrative there are a number of places which show subordination. The question is how this subordination influences tense choice. For example, there are a number of places in the text where either the narrator or the respondents opted for the non-past, and this tense choice may be due to sequencing. There are also subordinated verbs in the past tense, which could be considered background.

In this section, we present these examples in context. Sometimes the content clauses contain clusters of non-past verbs, and sometimes it is necessary to provide the main clause prior to the subordinate one where non-past selection occurred. In any case, context provides the semantic frame. Following each example is the English translation and the distribution of the survey results for the clauses. Remember that the form in uppercase is the one used by the narrator. Finally, after the distribution, I discuss the possible forces involved. The examples are given, where possible, in the order they occurred in the narrative.

One marker of subordination is the complementizer **ze** 'that', and there are a number of such examples. The first such is (4-9).

(4-9)

No, i (12)**okazalo<pp>** sie, ze rownoczesnie moja kuzynka, o wiele lat starsza ode mnie, Jola, (13)**miala<PI>** rowniez urlop wtedy, w tym samym czasie

Well, and it (12)**turned out** that at the same time my cousin Jola, a number of years older than me, also (13)**had** a break then, at that same time

12	okazywalo0	OKAZALO100	okazuje0
13	MIALA87	ma12	bedzie miala2

At first glance, the results for Slot (13) were a bit surprising. Not only the speaker, but also a sizable number of the respondents, chose the past in a clause that was clearly subordinated with the **ze** 'that'. This was in spite of the fact that the state represented by the verb in the subordinate clause was contemporaneous with the event related by the verb in the matrix sentence. The fact is, however, that the state represented by **miec** 'to have' is not only contemporaneous, it also precedes and succeeds that time in the narrative. Therefore, the informants, if they were not paying too much attention to grammatical sequencing rules, were free to use the past or even the disjunct Future **bedzie miala** 'she will have', depending on how they perceived the discourse function of this clause. The numbers indicate that most felt that it was a descriptive clause in a past narrative.

The lexical choice for the verb in the matrix sentence may also play a role in the tense choice for the subordinate clause. A similar situation evolves in (4-10).

(4-10)

Ech, wlasnie **(154)okazalo<pp> sie** wtedy, kiedy ja **(155)obserwowalam<pi>**

Um, it **(154)turned out** that, when (while) I **(155)was observing**

154	okazywalo0	OKAZALO100	okazuje0
155	OBSERWOWALAM96	zaobserwowalam4	obserwuje0

Here we see the same verb, **(154)okazalo sie** 'happen/take place', in the matrix sentence that was in the matrix sentence in Example (4-9). Since this is the common denominator here, we should look at this verb. A few clauses later in the story, just prior to the sentence containing **(158) podeszla**, it occurs in a question, **I co sie okazalo?** 'And then what happened?'. There is no number with it because it was not tested in the survey. The reason it was left out, even though it is a finite verb, was that it is being used as an interactive discourse device rather than as a part of the story itself. Perhaps this is also what is happening in (12) and (154). If so, sequencing and background⁷ between the subordinate and matrix sentences do not play a part here. The subordination is not between two clauses in the story, which leaves the subordinate clause open to other influences.

(4-11)

(15)Wiem<NI>, ze **(16)miala<PI>** urlop i tez zupełnie nie zaplanowany.

I **(15)know** that she **(16)had** vacation time and she didn't have any kind of plans.

15	wiedzialam94	dowiedzialam#2	WIEM2	wiedzac2
16	MIALA52	ma38	bede miala10	mialabym2

The **ze** 'that' complementizer subordinates **(16)miala** to **(15)wiem**, and tense sequencing should have the subordinated clause in non-past, and 38% of the respondents chose this form. However, the speaker and 52% of the respondents went with the past tense. On the other hand, the narrator chose the non-past for the matrix verb **(15)wiem** 'I know,' and she could have been using these two clauses as part of the interaction with the interviewer. It would be difficult for the respondents to take this point of view when responding to a paper survey, and only one person chose the non-past for the matrix sentence. Other examples of point of view are discussed below.

(4-12)

(22)Namowilam<pp> ja na Pomorze poniewaz **(23)mamy**<NI> tam duzo znajomych, duzo rodziny

(22)talked her **into** the Pomorze area because we **(23)have** a lot of friends there, a lot of family

22	namawialam48	NAMOWILAM54	namawiam0	namowie2
23	mialysmy52	MAMY46		

The use of the non-past in (4-12) results from either sequencing or from the subordinated clause being a generalization. The connector **poniewaz** 'because' is an indicator of grammatical subordination, but does not necessarily reflect temporal subordination. On the other hand, having family and friends was true when Ella talked Jola into going and it was no doubt true at the time the story was being told. The speaker and nearly half of the respondents selected the non-past, which supports the latter interpretation.

As to why slightly over 50% of the respondents chose past, there are three possibilities. They may simply have been following the tendency to use the past tense in a past time narrative. Another possibility is that the "family" there may also have been temporary vacationers who are no longer there. The choice of the past imperfective would then be accurate. The third possibility, however unwanted, results from the fact that they are English majors. English tense sequencing principles may have influenced their choice of tense. A different population is needed to resolve this difficulty. It is debatable, however, whether their knowledge of English would have that great of an effect here, because English, too, can have such a generality in the non-past.

In the following example, (4-13), we see a cluster of six clauses, (44) - (49), in which the narrator uses non-past. The first two are matrix verbs and will be discussed below. The last four, (46) - (49), follow the **ze** 'that' complementizer, and they are the ones we will talk about now with respect to subordination and sequencing.

(4-13)

(44)zblizamy<ni> sie do tego kempingu, e...no, i **(45)widzimy <ni>**z daleka, ze w poblizu naszego namiotu **(46)siedzi<ni>** jakas istotka. Taka niewielka postac, rozumiesz, **(47)siedzi<ni>** sobie przed naszym namiotem na trawie i **(48)trzymam<NI>** na kolanach menazke i sobie cos **(49)zajadam<NI>**.

we **(44)are coming up** to the campground and we **(45)see** from a distance that some kind of a small being **(46)is sitting** near our tent. Such a small individual, you understand, **(47)is sitting** in front of our tent, on the grass, **(48)holding** a mess kit on her lap, and **(49)chowing down** something.

44	zblizalysmy 88	zblizylsmy 10	ZBLIZAMY 2	zblizymy 2
45	widzialysmy 6	zobaczylysmy 88	WIDZIMY 4	widzac 2
46	siedziala 35	usiadla 8	SIEDZI 58	
47	siedziala 69	usiadla 12	SIEDZI 19	siedzaca 2
48	trzymala 75		TRZYMA 23	trzymajac 4
49	zajadala 79		ZAJADA 23	

The first of the final four, **(46)siedzi** 'is sitting,' is a clear-cut illustration of subordination, and more than half of the respondents agreed with her. In the next three clauses, however, the percentage of respondents selecting the past tense drops dramatically. The question to ask is whether the final three clauses are actually subordinated. A major weak point in the method of survey, unfortunately unavoidable, shows up here. Punctuation and capitalization were included in the survey, combining clauses into sentences. With 175 blanks, it would have been nearly impossible for the respondents to follow the story without punctuation. The speaker in this oral narrative, on the other hand, did not use such devices, so it is impossible to determine with 100% accuracy how she viewed the connections between clauses. In the example, although the subject of (44) is different from that in (46), the referent is actually the same individual (Agnieszka), and it is possible that the narrator views this whole cluster of five clauses as one long sentence unit or topic chain, thereby continuing the subordination throughout all four of the final clauses. The students obviously did not see it this way, perhaps because of the format of the survey.

We still have not addressed the use of non-past for the two verbs, (44) and (45), at the beginning of the series in (4-13). Both are about the

narrator and Jola, and the second one, at least, is not subordinated in any way. In addition, the two clauses immediately prior to this, (42) and (43), both with the same verb **wracalysmy** 'we were returning', were in the past, even though they have the same referents (the narrator and Jola) for the subject. Perhaps with (45) and (46) it is vividness being used as a device to make the story more real, though it is impossible to establish this. Vividness is a slippery, unquantifiable concept, which is easy to fall back on when there is no other explanation for non-past use. It definitely requires second guessing the intentions of the narrator. At most we can claim vividness; we can not prove it or give an objective reason for its relevance.

(4-14)

No, po prostu nie **(57)zdawala<pi>** sobie sprawy z tego, że **(58)jestesmy<NI>** właścicielkami namiotu, oczywiście, menazki i zawartosci tej menazki, która jej zreszta bardzo **(59)smakowala<pi>** bo widac, że **(60)zajada<NI>** z największym apetytem.

she simply **(57)did not realize** that we **(58)are** the owners of the tent, and, of course, of the mess kit, and of the contents of the mess kit, which, moreover, obviously **(59)appealed** to her palate, because you can see, she's really **(60)chowing down** with a hearty appetite.

57	ZDAWALA94	zdala6	zdaje0
58	bylysmy73		JESTESMY29
59	SMAKOWALA87	zasmakowala12	smakuje6
60	zajadala98		ZAJADA4

In the group of clauses found in (4-14), again we find a series beginning with a matrix verb in the past, followed by a series of subordinated clauses. Actually this situation is a bit more complex than

it appears at first glance because see nested subordination. The final two clauses are introduced with the relative pronoun **ktora** 'which' and the complementizer **ze** 'that'. They are subordinated to the clause containing (58), which is itself subordinated to (57). The second clause is in non-past and 29% of the respondents agreed with that choice, leading one to believe that sequencing is at work here. The subordination between clauses (58) and (59), however, is perhaps less clear-cut than that between (57) and (58), because not even the speaker, and only 6% of the respondents, chose non-past for **(59)smakowala** 'appeal to'. In addition, the total percentage of the results for this slot add up to 105%, indicating a certain degree of vacillation. The past use in (59) would seem to result from background, because we already know that the girl likes the food from way back at **(49)zajada** 'chowing down'. Also, **(60)zajada** is a repeat of that very same **(49)zajada**, which could lead some (in point of fact, almost all) of the students to perceive it also as background.

With this series there is also the question of why the first verb **nie (57)zdawala** 'didn't realize' is past while the four verbs immediately preceding, all about the same little girl, are non-past. This will be handled in the section on point of view.

(4-15)

Jola, juz tak **(75)zdawalo<pi>** jej sie, ze dziecko **(76)jest<NI>** na tyle uspokozone i w jakis sposob, m...przekonane co do tego, ze nie bedziemy jej krzywdzic, ze juz nie bedzie uciekac

it **(75)seemed** to Jola that the child **(76)is calmed** down enough and convinced that we won't hurt her, so that she isn't going to run away,

75	ZDAWALO81	zdalo*19	zdaje0	wydalo(P)2
76	bylo58	JEST42	bedzie2	

Example (4-15) is a fairly straight-forward illustration of sequencing between a matrix and subordinate clause. Nearly half of the respondents followed the lead of the narrative in selecting the non-past for the subordinated portion. The state represented by the copula is concurrent (or overlaps) with the state or act represented in the matrix sentence.

(4-16)

(88)zauwazyłam<pp>, ze ona **(89)zachowuje<ni>** sie co najmniej dziwnie, bo ona co prawda **(90)bawi<NI>** sie z tymi dziećmi ale, ale ona kompletnie nie **(91)uczestniczy<NI>** w tej zabawie, bo co chwile, wiesz, ona sie tak **(92)odrywa<ni>** od tej grupki i **(93)biegnie<ni>**

I then **(88)noticed** that she **(89)was behaving** a bit odd; true, she **(90)is playing** with the kids, but she really **(91)isn't participating** in the game at all, because every now and then she, you know, **(92)breaks away** from the group and **(93)runs** among the tents.

88	zauwazalam 0	ZAUWAZYLAM 100	zauwazam 0	
89	zachowywala 42	zachowala 0	ZACHOWUJE 58	
90	bawila 90		BAWI 10	
91	uczestniczyla 90		UCZESTNICZY 10	
92	odrywala 88	oderwala 4	ODRYWA 8	
93	biegala/biegla* 92	pobiegla 0	biega/BIEGNIE 8	biegla(l) 17
94	rzucala 90	rzucila 0	RZUCA 10	

The last six clauses in (4-16) are very similar to the last four clauses, (46) - (49) in (4-13). The **ze** 'that' complementizer is followed by a series of clauses about the little girl, and the speaker chose the non-past for the clauses about the girl, in other words, all the clauses

following the **ze**. As in (4-13), however, the number of respondents choosing the non-past, while considerable in the clause directly subordinated, drops quite quickly in the subsequent clauses. There is one interesting difference between these two examples. In (4-13), the speaker also chose the non-past for the matrix clause immediately prior to the **ze**, while here in (4-16), she chose the past. We will be discussing these two examples in greater detail below in the section on point of view.

(4-17)

Ja (130)**wyczulam<pp>** ze (131)**musialo<PI>** cos (132)**zajsc<p>**

I (130)**felt** that something (131)**must** (132)**have happened**

130	wyczulam*35	WYCZULAM67	wyczuje0	czulam()6
131	MUSIALO 100	musi0		

The pair of clauses in (4-17) has the subordinating **ze** 'that', but everyone, including the speaker, chose the past. This is a clear illustration of background, because what had happened was prior to the speaker noticing.

(4-18)

ta dziewczynka (156)**obserwowala<pi>** nickogo innego tylko Jole, ktora wlasnie na lezaku (157)**drzemala<PI>** sobie wlasnie tam na skraju lasu

she (156)**was observing** none other than Jola, who (157)**was napping**

156	OBSERWOWALA98	zaobserwowala2	obserwuje0
157	DRZEMALA 100	drzemie0	

Here is an example that is somewhat difficult to make out. The subordinating relative pronoun **ktora** 'who' is present, but everyone chooses past. This does not appear to be background, because the napping should be cotermporal with the observing. Possibly, relative pronouns are not as subordinating as complementizers.

(4-19)

Mala Agnieszka (174)**powiedziala**<pp> tez Joli, ze tydzien temu (175)**uciekla** <pp> z domu dziecka.

Little Agnieszka also (174)**told** Jola, that a week ago she (175)**had escaped** from an orphanage.

174	mowila0	POWIEDZIALA 100	mowi0
175	uciekala0	UCIEKLA 100	ucieka0

This final pair, in (4-19), illustrates background. Everyone (100% and the speaker) agrees that the escaping took place prior to Agnieszka telling Jola about having escaped.

4.4.6 Negation and Aspect Variation

There was a total of 12 slots which allowed aspect choice and where the verbs were negated. Of these 12, nine showed a high degree of variation in aspect choice, and we need to determine whether there is a connection between negation and a lack of consensus with regard to which aspect to choose.

The defining characteristic of a perfective is that it indicates a change of state, and the reason that plot verbs are perfectives is that they, by relating a change of state, move the story-line forward. The question, then, is exactly what is negated. The negation may indicate

that no change of state occurred. Conversely, they may indicate a state brought about by something NOT being done. In the following mini narrative.

(4-20)/a He insulted me but I didn't kill him.

the second clause could be changed to either of the following.

(4-20)/b but I let him live.

(4-20)/c but I forgave him.

Both of clauses have the same outcome as the original clause, but without the negation. These non-negated versions, especially the "forgave" one, clearly depict a change of state. There is a certain ambivalence with regard to change of state with the negative, and this ambivalence is reflected in the data. Following are the nine clauses in question.

(4-21)

9	dawalam29	DALAM71	daje0	dajac2
56	reagowala29	zreagowala71	REAGUJE2	
82	pojawiata13	POJAWILA87	pokazywal2	
83	WIDZIALYSMY72	zobaczylysmy28	widziemy0	
87	ZWRACALAM52	zwroclam48	zwracam0	
107	ruszala75	RUSZYLA25	rusza0	
137	zaczynala40	ZACZELA62	zaczyna0	
139	MOWILA85	powiedziata21	mowi0	
168	przerywala62	PRZERWALA40	przerywa0	

In addition to the eight clauses which showed such variation, there were the following three negated clauses, whose aspect choice was one-sided. They need to be discussed, too.

(4-22)

57	ZDAWALA94	zdala6	zduje0
144	wytrzymywala0	WYTRZYMALA100	wytrzymuje0

The imperfective was chosen overwhelmingly in (57), perfectives in (144) and (166). No generalization, therefore, can be made with regard to aspect choice. Notice that the choices of the respondents agreed with the selections made by the speaker for these three. We need to ascertain whether these verbs, or else the environments they are found in, differ from those listed above. One possible answer lies in the Aktionsart of the verbs themselves. The verb **zdawac** 'to seem / to appear to be' is often perceived as describing a state, and most chose the imperfective.⁸ The third verb, **zauwazyc** 'to notice', on the other hand, is generally an instantaneous event, and most of the respondents chose the perfective. In this story alone, this verb occurred seven times--(85),(88),(101), (120), (124), (165), and (166). In all of the cases the perfective was chosen overwhelmingly by the respondents and the speaker. In fact, in five of the cases, the number was 100%. Aktionsart predicts these aspect choices.

The Aktionsart of the middle verb, **wytrzymac** 'to hold out', on the other hand, does not seem to be the deciding factor. The verb could as well be used to relate a state or a change of state. However, the context it is in lends itself to a change of state interpretation. In the story, Jola was keeping quiet all afternoon, and then, finally she broke down and talked about what had happened. Her not maintaining her silence resulted in the new state of talking. The speaker and the respondents obviously felt strongly about this, because 100% opted for the perfective.

This goes back to the above discussion about the ambivalence of the negated verbs vis-a-vis change of state. Situations can be perceived differently.

(4-23)

ktorych sami nie **(142)chca<NI>** **(143)ujawnic<p>**.

that they themselves **(142)don't want** **(143)to reveal**.

142	chcielI31	CHCA63	chcielIby6
143	ujawniac40	UJAWNIC62	

There is one other slot, (142), where negation may be contributing to vacillation in aspect choice, albeit indirectly. The infinitive **(143)ujawnic** 'to reveal' shows a high degree of variation. It is not directly negated. However, the subordinate clause it is found in contains a negative, and it is possible that this affects the infinitive, giving the results seen in (4-23).

4.5 Functional Approach

Section 4.4 examined the correlation between grammatical principles, i.e., sequencing and negation, and t/a form selection by both the original speaker and the respondents. It was found that some correlations exist, but that there were many choices which could not be explained solely on the basis of grammatical considerations, especially in an oral narrative. In this section, we will look at how functional motives play a role in the selection of tense and aspect. The two areas we want to look at are point of view and discourse function.

4.5.1 Point of View and Substories

In Section 4.4.5 dealing with sequencing, we discovered that tense choice did not always correlate with sequencing constraints. We propose that there is a major organizational principle realized by tense choice. In particular, shifting the time perspective gives a different set of unmarked t/a choices, and different time perspectives can organize distinct substories. Each substory is told from the viewpoint of a different character. Tense shift and other factors divide the narrative into three points of view: the speaker as a participant, other participants (speaker as pure narrator), and the speaker interacting with her audience. The first two are within the story itself, while the third is outside the narrative proper.

Appendix P-7 shows the point of view along with discourse function. This appendix is the analysis; it shows a proposed structure for the original spoken narrative based on point of view and the three discourse functions. What follows in 4.5.1 and 4.5.2 are explanations and observations.

First, we need to explain the structure of the appendix. The first column is the number of the verb as it appears in the survey. Note that some of the verbs do not have numbers, as they were not tested in the survey. Many of these forms were speaker-to-audience interactivity clauses (a lot being back-channeling), though there were some others left out for the reasons discussed in Section 4.2.1 . The form itself is found in one

of the next four columns. The first three are the narrative functions of plot, description, and background, and the fourth is for those verbs used in the interaction. The final column contains the glosses for the forms.

As in the other appendices, the tense and aspect of the verb are represented in abbreviations in square brackets following the verbs. The abbreviations are as follows: <p> = perfective, <i> = imperfective, <np> = non-past perfective, <ni> = non-past imperfective, <pp> = past perfective, and <pi> = past imperfective. Uppercase abbreviations indicate that the verb occurs in only one aspectual form, and a question mark means that the form could be either aspect. There were some forms not found in the other appendices, so some additional abbreviations were added: <mod> for modal, <fi> for future (disjoint) imperfective, <c> for command, and <part> for participle.

Subordination is indicated by indenting the subordinated form two spaces so it will be staggered from the form it is subordinated to. Italics are also used to separate the subordinated forms.

Boldface plays a very important role here. It is used in the narrative proper to distinguish points of view. That is, forms which are not boldface belong to the point of view of the narrator as a participant. Boldface forms are those which are used from the point of view of someone other than the speaker, usually the little girl, but in one case, the speaker's cousin Jola. Again, the third point of view, that of the

speaker interacting with her audience, has those verbs in the column marked "Interaction".

Each point of view has its own internal discourse structure, and the relationships among the t/a forms hold. The portions told from the narrator's point of view, i.e. with the narrator as a participant, are told in the past tense. The expected forms for these portions are past perfectives for both the plot and the background, and the past imperfective for description. Where the point of view shifts to another participant, the tense also shifts, to the non-past. Plot and description are normally non-past imperfectives, while background clauses remain past perfectives. Interactory commentary is also generally in the non-past tense, and t/a choices are comparable to those just described, i.e. those in substories given from the point of view of someone other than the speaker. Commentary often consists of description (often in the form of generalizations) along with some background.

The first boldface section begins with slot (41) and continues to slot (60), with one exception, (50) *patrzylyśmy* 'we looked at each other.' This is a story within a story, based on the little girl's point of view. This is the first time the speaker and her cousin meet the girl and is a major event in the story as a whole. Notice that the speaker chose non-past for most of the verbs in this substory, suggesting a present-time narrative.

Recall, that, in 4.4.5, there was a discussion of Example (4-13) about how far the subordination goes following the matrix verb in (45),

and whether this was what was causing non-past tense choice for the speaker. The choices of the speaker and the respondents deviated from each other in this series and we were not able to explain this difference satisfactorily. Also, we mentioned that there was no subordination with the first two verbs, (44) and (45), and yet the speaker chose non-past. If the speaker is using tense to delineate a substory from the point of view of the little girl, then it is clear that this tense choice has nothing to do with subordination. Instead, it realizes point of view. The switch to the past in (50) **popatrzylismy** 'we looked' is a momentary shift back to the narrator's point of view within the substory. Otherwise, the tense choice is consistent throughout this little story within a story presented in (41) - (60).

Because these point of view shifts tend to cluster, it is logical to look upon them as substories or parts of a substory. Another such cluster is seen in the series from (89) to (102). Again, the point of view is that of the little girl. Also, there is a momentary shift back to the speaker's point of view in (99) - (100).

There are two other places in the narrative which might be considered to be shifts in point of view. One is in (76), where there are three non-past verbs subordinated to (75) **zdawalo** 'it seemed'. This is a very short substory consisting of only three clauses, and it could be looked as simply a matter of subordination. The point is, however, that the subordinated material can be a story into itself, with its own

narrative structure of plot, description, and background. Subordination and substory should not be confused, however. The former is a grammatical phenomenon, while substory is a discourse rhetorical construct.

There is one other very short stretch of clauses, (161) - (163), which is listed as a shift in point of view. This time it is a momentary shift to Jola, while she is telling the narrator about her second meeting with the little girl.

Appendix P-7 is an analysis based on the speaker's choices rather than the survey results. The respondents, as noted earlier, did not use the non-past to the degree that the speaker did. Thus, there is little evidence of substories or shifts in point of view in their responses. This is not surprising, however. The circumstances and communication media are totally different. The speaker is producing an oral narrative about something she actually experienced. It is therefore easier for her to visualize the world she is describing and to assign points of view. The respondents, on the other hand, are playing a relatively passive role. They are given the story on paper and are to fill in certain portions. It is no wonder that the structure they produce is relatively simple, with their choices governed by clear-cut rules or guidelines such as grammatical sequencing rules or the tendency to use past tense to relate past events.

One point of view that we have not covered so far is that of speaker interacting with her listeners. The verbs which represent this point of

view are listed in the "Interaction" column of Appendix P-7. The one verb **wiesz** 'you know' constitutes about half of the entries in this column. Its use is fairly straight-forward; if it is not being used simply as a hesitation filler, it is a method for the speaker to establish that the listeners are still following her. Most of the other verbs take the form of asides used to elaborate on information being given in story. Nearly all of the forms are non-past Imperfectives. They are often (weak) generalizations, and, as such, they closely resemble the semantic effect of description. In fact, the results of the survey indicate that the respondents sometimes included them in the main narrative as description. There are also past perfectives in the interaction: for example, (22) **namowilam** 'I talked into' and **wspomnialam** 'I mentioned' (following (102)). These are plot verbs from the point of view of the speaker's aside to the listeners. The substories and the interactive material have their own internal narrative structure, including narrative functions and subordination. For example, (103) **miesci** 'is located' is subordinated to the above-mentioned **wspomnialam** 'I mentioned', which immediately precedes it.

Assigning a form to a particular point of view is not an exact science. For example, (22) **namowilam** 'I talked into' could be considered to be a plot verb within the story itself. In the discussion of examples (4-9) and (4-10) in the section on subordination in this chapter, there was concern about how to classify the various instances of

okazalo sie 'it turned out'. It was suggested that this verb belonged more in the interaction than the story proper, in spite of being the past tense. Some forms, however, are much easier to classify. With **wspomniałam** 'I mentioned', the narrator is not mentioning something to anyone within the story; she is recalling that, earlier in her narration, she told the listeners about the location of the campsite. Forms in the second person (namely **wiesz** 'you know') are also clearly not in the narrative proper.

4.5.2 Discourse Functions and Narrative Structure

As with point of view, determining the discourse function of a particular clause is not an exact science. Discourse function only allows us to determine the unmarked t/a choice. Appendix P-7 is a model based on the choices made by the speaker, and, in our analysis, we are involved on the receiving rather than the producing end. It is necessary to use the linguistic data we are given to make conjectures about the intentions of the speaker. We must use all means available in order to avoid circularity in our determination. For example, we want to avoid saying that a clause is description because the verb is an imperfective and then turn around and make the claim that the verb is imperfective because it is in a descriptive clause. Fortunately, we can use the discourse and real-word context, in addition to the t/a forms, to infer the discourse function. Also, even though the model of narrative structure given in Appendix P-7 is just one interpretation based on the original narrative,

the results from the survey can provide insight and confirmation to help in making conjectures.

The relationship between discourse function and t/a forms is not a hard and fast rule; rather it is a question of markedness. With a marked/unmarked relationship, you can not, of course predict what form will occur every time. The determination of the discourse function for a clause will simply tell you which t/a form you would normally expect to find. The unmarked form is more common, but by no means assured. Hence, in the analysis, we have established a structural model of the narrative with the clauses classified on the basis of discourse function (the three columns of Plot, Description, and Background). What we can predict is that, for a past time narrative, most of the verbs in the Plot and Background columns will be past perfectives, while those in the Description column will be past imperfectives. For a non-past substory, on the other hand, tense use creates a different split among the functions. Plot and description both have the non-past imperfective as the unmarked form, and background, the past perfective.

Appendix P-8 is a variation of Appendix P-7, in which the verbs are broken up into lists based on discourse function. It clearly illustrates the distribution of t/a forms. Each list has at the bottom a number of the subordinated clauses whose overall function is dependent on the function of the clauses they are subordinated to. Leaving out these verbs, there are 65 finite plot verbs, of which 54 are past perfectives. Of the 73

description verbs, 40 are past imperfectives and 30 are non-past imperfectives. Background shows more variation in aspect; out of 13 verbs, 5 are imperfectives and 8 perfectives. This distribution is shown in the following table.

Table 4.7

	Past Perf.	Past Imp.	N-p Imp.	Other	Total
Plot	54	3	5	3	65
Description	3	40	30	0	73
Background	8	5	0	0	13

There are 11 plot verbs which are not past perfectives. Of these, five are non-past imperfectives which are part of the plot line of substories in the non-past. They are **(44)** (and **(51)**) **zblizamy** 'are coming up/move closer', **(45)****widzimy** 'see', **(102)****zaczyna** 'started', and **(161)****mowi** 'says'. This is the unmarked t/a form for non-past narrative. The three verbs in the "Other" column, **(133)** (and **(134)**) **nie potrafilam⁹** 'wasn't able/didn't manage', and **(150)****kazala** 'told', are all forms which could be either aspect, and are, therefore, no problem with regard to markedness. It is the three verbs in the past imperfective which cause some concern. These verbs, **(83)****nie widzialysmy** 'didn't see', **(127)****uczestniczyla** 'was taking part', and **(169)****utrzymywala** 'pretended', are all events in the plot line which occur over an extended period of time. Remember that use of a marked aspect form is to signal a special message emphasizing one of the specific uses of the aspect. In these three cases, the special message is extension in time.

Only three perfective verbs, **(9)nie dalam** 'didn't give up', **(107)nie ruszyła** 'did not move', **(168)nie przerwała** 'did not stop', occur in the description. The other 70 verbs were all imperfectives, either past or non-past. Notice that all three of the perfectives here have one thing in common; they are all negated. As was discussed, negated clauses can be difficult to classify. Obviously, the respondents found them difficult to classify. All three slots are listed in Appendix P-6 as having a high degree of variation in responses. For the first two verbs, 29% chose the imperfective, and 40% chose the imperfective for (168).

There were five imperfective verbs in background. Four of these verbs, **(42)(and (43))wracalysmy<pi>** 'were returning', **(57)zdawala<pi>** 'did not realize', **(59)smakowala<pi>** 'appealed', occurred in the midst of a substory from the point of view of the little girl. As with the past imperfectives found in plot, the speaker used these forms to describe extended acts. For these slots in the survey, 15%, 17%, 6%, and 12% of the respondents, respectively, did not see the acts as extended, and they chose the past perfective. On the other hand, at least 80% chose the past imperfective for each of these slots. This may mean that some respondents viewed them as extended. However, many of them selected the past for most of the surrounding verbs. So it is also possible that they were analyzing these verbs as part of a simple description rather than as background. Their concept of the overall narrative structure

differed from that of the original speaker, and, therefore, the functions of individual clauses also differed.

The fifth verb, **(131)musialo<PI>** 'must', is a slightly different case. It forms a pair with the infinitive, **(132)zajsc<p>** 'have happened', as background in the main narrative.

This proposed narrative structure, therefore, accounts for the use of the t/a forms. Again, however, this is just one reading; the variation in the responses to the survey show that there can be other interpretations. For example, look at the following string of three plot verbs.

(4-24)

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------|
| (26) | zdecydowalysmy<pp> | decided |
| (27) | pojechalysmy<pp> | went |
| (28) | wyladowalysmy<pp> | landed |

While all of the respondents chose the perfective for the first and third verbs, they were less sure in their aspect selection for **pojechalysmy<pp>**. Looking at the entire clause,

(4-25)

(27)Pojechalysmy<pp> sobie tam wtedy chyba pociagiem.
We **(27)went** there, probably by train.

we see that the speaker talks about the method of travel. Perhaps the respondents who chose the imperfective felt that this was description, perhaps even an aside that could be in the interaction. Hopper (218 - 219) points out that in clauses where the focus is on the adverbial,

rather than the verb, the imperfective can be expected. This is because no new event is being signalled.

Another example of how interpretation may differ is with **(22)namowilam** 'talked into'. The description we present here has this as a plot verb within the interaction between the speaker and her listeners. There was, however, an almost even split between the two aspects in the responses. Those respondents who chose the imperfective no doubt felt that this was a descriptive verb, either in the interaction or in the main narrative.

There are other examples of variation throughout the survey. They only show that narrative discourse has a very complex structure which allows a high degree of freedom in both production and interpretation.

4.6 Notes

¹Background is the third category in the model of tripartite narrative structure as defined in Chapter 2.

²The verbs were always given in imperfective/perfective order, which is the standard.

³Actually the form **nie zrobi** 'will not do' occurs in a series of three Non-past verbs, all of which are subordinated to the verb **spokoic** 'assure/calm down' by the complementizer **ze** 'that'. The other two, **sie nie dzieje** 'not going on' and **nie bedziemy karac** 'we will not punish', were not tested in the survey because the reflexivizer **sie** in the first and the disjoint tense marker **bedziemy** 'will' in the second were separated from the main verb by another vocabulary item. It would have been difficult to arrange the blanks in a way that would not bias the outcome, so only the **nie zrobi** was used. In any case, all three describe states or events which are either simultaneous with or subsequent to the verb they are subordinated to. The girl is being assured that nothing funny is going on, that they won't do anything to her, and that she will not be punished. A past tense form would be inappropriate here. In addition to the sequencing factor, **nie zrobi** is being used as a promise, one of the special uses of the perfective.

⁴One question to be addressed regarding the 41 Imperfective mono-aspectual verbs is whether they actually have aspect. Cockiewicz (p. 26) considers such stative verbs to be non-aspectual.

⁵For example, the **brac/wziac** 'take' pair (not actually in the data) is often cited as an example of a suppletive pair.

⁶The cut-off point was chosen somewhat arbitrarily, although there are some gaps in the distributions of choices. The over 10% criterion has to do with substantial disagreement with the narrator's choice. There were random disagreements with percentages of less than 5%, but there was a gap between the random disagreements and the 10% cut-off. Another gap occurs at around 90% (actually 87%, but it was rounded up). This is usually where most of the respondents chose the expected t/a form. The area of variation was between these two points, that is between substantial disagreement at 10% and substantial agreement at 90%. These are clauses where the respondents interpreted the clause function in more than one way. The respondents may be making alternate structural choices. In the absence of demographic control, which would be required for a full statistical analysis, the 10%/90% boundaries provide a conservative method for constraining any claims made.

⁷One note should be made about background here. Even though (155)**obserwowałam** may not be background with respect to (154), the matrix sentence and all the verbs following are background with respect to (153)**zaczęła opowiadać** 'started talking'. The whole final section describes a situation that took place earlier in the day. This is one case where there is no overt subordination; you have to rely on the logic of the storyline to determine the temporal relationship.

⁸Notice that the English equivalents given do not typically allow a progressive "ing." Progressives are strange or rare with state verbs.

⁹The verb **potrafić** 'to be able' is difficult to classify with respect to aspect. In checking five dictionaries (three of them Polish/English), I found three different approaches. Three of them list it as bi-aspectual, one gives it as a perfective only, while the fifth says it is an imperfective only.

CHAPTER 5 JAPANESE ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the use of t/a forms in a Polish oral narrative. In this chapter, we present an analysis of a written Japanese text. We examine the use of Japanese t/a forms with respect to influences discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. We will look at Soga's adaptation of the foreground/background division originally proposed by Hopper, the participant-tracking and vividness effects introduced by Szatrowski, and the speaker's perspective (SP) principle suggested by Iwasaki. These factors are discussed in Chapter 3 and there is no need to go into detail here. Finally, we will examine the text with respect to the tripartite discourse structure proposed in Chapter 2, wherein clauses have one of three functions: plot, description, or background.

5.2 The Data Survey Methodology.

There are some similarities between the Japanese data and the Polish. In both there is a text produced by a native speaker together with a survey based on the text. There are, however, some fundamental differences which must be mentioned here. First, the original texts differ. Whereas the Polish text was a spontaneous oral narrative, the Japanese narrative is taken from a written essay-type article. In the story, the writer goes to a newly opened neighborhood restaurant two times and relates her experiences for each trip. The purpose of the essay

is to lament the cold impersonality of many modern restaurants, and she uses the differences in her two visits to show this. We only use the beginning portion of the article, which is the narrative of her experiences. There are 21 finite verbs or adjectives with t/a markers (hereafter, we call them all verbs for simplicity) which are analyzed. The texts differ, therefore, not only in medium, written versus oral, but also in length, 21 slots versus 175.

In the survey, the extract was reproduced with the 21 positions numbered and the possible verb forms for each slot given as multiple choice slots within the text. Remember that, in the Polish survey, the respondents had to produce the verb forms, choosing one of the two aspects. Here the respondents simply circled one of at most four forms for each slot. They were also provided a blank at the end of each slot in case they wanted to provide a different form. As with the Polish survey, they were asked to choose the forms they felt would best complete the text. The number of respondents was similar to that of the Polish survey, 46 and 52, and in both surveys, the respondents were university students. However, the Japanese students were economics majors rather than English majors. Moreover, there was a fairly even mix of males and females in the Japanese survey, whereas the Polish population was predominately female. Because the text was much shorter for the Japanese, the whole survey was completed in under 20 minutes. A

Romanized version of the extract is given in Appendix J-1 and a rough translation in Appendix J-2.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Appendices

Appendices J-3, J-4, and J-5 show the choices in t/a forms made by the narrator and respondents. Appendix J-3 presents the combined results. As with the Polish appendices, the first column of numbers gives the number of the slot, followed by alternating columns of forms and numbers. Remember that there was a maximum of four possible choices for each slot (plus a blank for the respondents to fill in an alternative form). The columns in the appendices reflect the possible forms and the numbers following them, the percentages of respondents selecting them. The columns are for the simple **-ta**, **-te ita**, simple **-ru**, and **-te iru** forms, respectively. State verbs and adjectives only allowed for two choices: the **-ta** and **-ru** forms.

There were only two slots where the respondents provided their own forms, and those forms are given in rows immediately below the slots they applied to. They are in rows without slot numbers and are in the columns which reflect the t/a form they occur in. The forms used by the original writer are given in uppercase. Forms in boldface are those selected by at least 90% of the respondents. Appendices J-4 and J-5 are

given to provide a more graphic illustration of the differences between writer and survey results.

5.3.2 Overall Numbers

Appendices J-4 and J-5 are provided to help in comparing the distribution of form choices made by the narrator and the respondents. Appendix J-4 shows the selections made by the original writer, while Appendix J-5 indicates, in a very rough way, the respondents' choices. Consider the boldface forms in Appendix J-3. If the 90% cut-off is used, only nine slots meet the requirement. All of them have the **-ta** and only one of those has the **-te ita**. As in the case of the Polish survey, past tense was the preferred choice of the respondents.

Appendix J-5 is not based on a numerical cut-off. The top choice for each slot is given in order that all the slots be represented with a single form. J-5 shows the selections made by at least 50% of the students, except for (20). For (20), two of the forms, **-ta** and **-te ita** (both past), each had over 40%. The top choice was **-te ita** with 48%. This is not a very large percentage for any one choice. But since **-ta** and **-te ita** are both past, the responses permit a comparison between past and non-past. J-5 is to be used only as a simplified comparison of the respondents' tendencies, relative to the writer's choice.

In J-3, J-4, and J-5, the two columns of forms on the left reflect forms ending in **-ta** or **-te ita**, while the two on the right give forms

ending in **-ru** or **-te iru**. Note that the choices made by the writer are fairly evenly distributed between "past" and "non-past": 48% vs. 53%. The respondents, on the other hand, chose the "past" in over 90% of the slots. The "non-past" was chosen only twice. Table 5.1 provides a numerical representation of the distribution of overall choices.¹

Table 5.1

	-ta	-te ita	-ru	-te iru
Writer	8(38%)	2(10%)	10(48%)	1(5%)
Respondents	15(71%)	4(19%)	2(10%)	0(0%)

There was, therefore, a considerable discrepancy between the choices made by the respondents and those made by the writer. Everywhere but in the two commentary slots a majority of respondents used the past tense form. Remember that the results for the Polish survey were similar; respondents used past more than the original narrator. The respondents in both cases leaned toward a simpler structure, resulting no doubt from a general tendency to relate past experience in past tense. The narrators in both instances produced a more complex organization. They went beyond simple deictic tense representation, presumably utilizing the *t/a* forms to signal such things as changes in point of view, participant-tracking, vividness, and SP. The narrator, who has either actually experienced or else created the world they are relating, is more intimate with that world and is therefore likely to provide a more detailed description of that world in their narrative.

The comparison between the narrator and the respondents given above is a very crude one. It is impossible to directly determine what the respondents intended, either individually or as a population. What we can do, however, is use the trends found in the responses to aid in guessing the intentions of the original narrator. This is similar to the approach we took with Polish in Chapter 4.

5.3.3 Individual Choices

In the Polish analysis, the high number of slots precluded a discussion of each individual choice. Therefore, certain representative clauses were given to show the influences of discourse function and other factors on t/a choice. Here, however, the low number of slots allows a slot-by-slot discussion. We examine each choice made by the narrator, using, where possible, the responses from the survey to corroborate our conjectures. Among the factors that concern us here are grounding, participant-tracking, SP, and, of course, the discourse functions of plot, description, and background. Vividness, as mentioned in Chapter 3, is a slippery concept and extremely difficult to measure, and we discuss it only in occasional asides. Appendix J-3 forms the basis of this discussion.

5.3.4 T/A Forms and Discourse Function

Recall that Soga's approach has main events with **-ta** and subsidiary events with **-ru**. Bogdan 1984 adduces a three-way structure of plot,

description, and background for Russian. The analysis of the t/a forms presented in Chapter 4 suggested that such functions apply to Polish discourse, too. This approach is hereafter referred to as the DF (discourse function) approach. In our analysis, we also want to determine if there is evidence for this organization in Japanese. But the various approaches discussed in Chapter 3 suggest that there are many factors influencing t/a use in Japanese.² This complicates the analysis. We will, however, look for manifestations of our three-way organization in the short text used as data.

The question to ask, then, is how plot, description, and background are formally represented in Japanese. To answer this, we must show which t/a forms are associated with which functions. Unfortunately, we cannot show that there is one unmarked form for each of the categories. All we can show is a probability for a particular form to fulfill a particular function. This is not as clear-cut as the Polish case, but generalizations are possible.

In Section 3.4.3 we discussed Szatrowski's findings with regard to the Japanese t/a forms and a series of 11 discourse-pragmatic features. The feature which most closely corresponds to plot is narrative event, and we use her findings to determine the likelihood of a form being a plot verb. Recall that she adduced a continuum. She found that the least marked forms to relate plot are affirmative verbs without the dependent

suffix **-te-**. This suffix indicates the continuation of an action, state, or a result.³ Accordingly, we would expect the simplex **-ta** or **-ru** forms for plot verbs, depending, perhaps, on the perspective the clause is supposed to be indicating. On the whole, however, **-ta** heightened the perception of narrative event more than **-ru**, so **-ta** should be the least marked form. Next comes the simplex **-ru**. Following this are the forms with the **-te-**. The forms least likely to represent plot verbs are adjectivals, negated verbs, and noun plus copula constructions.⁴

Szatrowski's survey included a feature called "description". But what we term "description" in the analysis of the Polish text is a much broader concept. It is conceived as a more general modifying function. As such it incorporates several of her features, namely description, characterization, evaluation, and generality. The results indicate that **-ru** tended to heighten all of these features more than **-ta**, at least for verbs. The features diverge, however, with respect to the use of the **-te-** suffix. Inclusion of the **-te-** heightened the ratings for description and characterization, while it lowered the rating for generality. The **-ta** form with non-state verbs would be the most marked. State verbs with **-ru** or **-ta**⁵ or other verbs with either **-te iru** or **-te ita** are the least marked forms. In other words, non-state verbs would tend to have the **-te-** suffix. As the **-te-** indicates continuance of some kind, it can also

indicate a state. Again, as with plot verbs, the choice of **-ru** or **-ta** could depend on other factors.

Szatrowski does not have an exact equivalent to our background, either. But her explanation feature, which gives reasons, performs one kind of background function. Recall that **-ta** heightened evaluation more than **-ru** and that forms with the **-te** suffix were more explanatory than those without. Within the **-te** forms, **-te ita** was more explanatory than **-te iru**. In Section 3.5.3 I quote Iwasaki to the effect that flashback, one of the most common manifestations of background, is always in the past tense. We postulate, therefore, that the least marked forms for background are **-ta** or **-te ita**, followed by **-te iru**. The simple **-ru** form should not be used for background. Because the forms used for background intersect with those used for plot and description, we should be on the lookout for subordination or temporal displacement to distinguish them.

The above discussion demonstrates the complexity of the relationship between t/a forms and narrative function. Table 5.2 is a very rough attempt to illustrate the relationships. Notice that the relationships are reversed for plot and description. That is, plot verbs tend towards higher transitivity, while description is more commonly represented by lower transitivity verbs and adjectives. This parallels the situation with Polish, where the more transitive perfective is used for

plot and the less transitive imperfective for description. It is also compatible with Hopper's grounding model.

The relationships are simplified, perhaps oversimplified. State verbs, adjectives, negatives, and the nominal plus copula construction are all subsumed under the category "State", which glosses over possible differences among them. Also, the **-te iru** and **-te ita** forms are in one category for plot and description, even though they, too, may differ. This table should be considered a preliminary guide rather than a set of rules.

Table 5.2

	Least Marked		<=>	Most Marked
Plot	-ta	-ru	-te-	State
Description	State	-te-	-ru	-ta
Background	-ta	-te ita	-te iru	-ru

5.3.5 Clause-by-Clause Analysis

(1) **dekita** 'had opened up'

This is not a sentence-final verb and would probably not even be considered in Soga's "main event" / "supportive event" framework. Both the narrator and the respondents (96%) selected the **-ta** form for this slot. If it were, however, to enter into the structure, the fact that it is subordinate would tend to relegate it to a supportive function in spite of the **-ta** being used. Participant-tracking doesn't seem to be in effect here because the restaurant as the subject should not be in the speaker's in-group. SP might possibly suggest that the restaurant's opening affected

the speaker somehow, but this is hard to prove. Actually, if non-final verbs were taken into consideration in Iwasaki's analysis, this would no doubt be an example of flashback. As such, the temporal (i.e. past tense) use of the **-ta** would be required. Similarly the DF model proposed herein does not exclude non-final verbs. Hence this is an event in a subordinate clause which occurs prior to the event related by the verb in the main clause. It is therefore a background event. The result of the restaurant having been opened, gives a reason for the author to go to it, and that is the event represented in the main clause.

(2) itte mita 'went'

The use of the **-ta** form in this clause is consistent with any of the approaches. The writer going to the restaurant is a main event which has the writer as the subject. It is also the first main verb in the narrative, which would also encourage past tense use. Our analysis suggests plot function. The respondents (96%) backed the author's choice in this clause. Only two of them chose the non-past. Vividness is a possible motive for their choice, but one that is impossible to prove, because it is the 'unexpected' use of the t/a forms which make clauses vivid.

(3) aru 'weren't'

The author chose the **-ru** form here, while 96% of the respondents selected the **-ta**. This discrepancy could suggest a perspective or

participant-tracking function which the author used that most of the respondents either did not perceive or else felt was unnecessary. Soga's approach would have a more difficult time explaining the discrepancy. Logically, more than 4% of the applicants should have sympathized with the author's choice to make this a subsidiary event. The discourse function approach fares better. As this is a stative verb, our approach would classify it as description, and this category allows either tense choice.

(4) sageta 'lowered'

This is another plot verb. The choices made in the original text and the survey are similar to those made for (2), which was a main event (plot) verb with the author as the subject. In this case, however, the waitress is the subject. Szatrowski's participant-tracking scheme calls for the **-ru**, unless vividness is being invoked. Iwasaki has a better explanation for this choice. The subject is the waitress. She is lowering her head to the author, indirectly affecting her. Iwasaki talks about an infiltration of perspective, i.e. implicit Speaker Perspective (SP). This clause seems to fit that explanation.

Neither a DF approach nor a grounding approach has any trouble with the **-ta** form in this clause, because neither of them depend on subject choice. A main/plot event is a plot event, regardless of the subject.

(5) tatete iru 'gave'

There was a lot of variance in responses to this slot. Each form had someone choose it. However, one thing that 78% of the respondents and the narrator agreed on was the inclusion of the **-te-** suffix. Most of the approaches do not make a great issue of (or completely ignore) the aspectual nature of **-te-**. The DF approach considers **-te-** to be a stative marker, which is not as likely to be found in a plot verb. But DF also allows for a marked use of the aspect forms. This was seen with the Polish analysis with a plot verb that extended over a period of time being in the imperfective. The same thing may be going on here. The clause immediately following this one begins with the adverbial **momonaku** 'soon, after a bit', which suggests a hiatus. Therefore, the act of the waitress looking questioningly at her boss was held until he gave her the "OK" sign.

Now that the **-te** has been explained, we need to look at the motive for the use of the non-past. A follow-up interview with a native speaker suggested that the use of the **-ru** implied a very short period of time before the next action took place. If the adverb **yagate** 'presently', which suggests a longer interval, were used in place of **mamonaku**, the simple **-ta** form would be more acceptable. Also, if the immediately preceding non-finite **furimuite** 'looking back' were changed to **furimukinagara** 'while looking back over her shoulder', the **-te ita** form would be used as

in **tatete ita**. The use of the **V-te** forms a clause chain, with the act represented by the **V-te** anterior⁶ to the act represented by the following verb. The **-nagara** 'while -ing' form, on the other hand, reflects simultaneity, and the two acts could both be considered description.

The use of the non-past is also explainable through SP. While the subject is the same as in **(4) sageta** 'lowered', the waitress is looking away from the narrator this time. No infiltration of S-Perspective is taking place, because the act does not affect the narrator.

All in all, this slot is not an easy one to assign to a unique discourse or semantic function. The variation in responses in the survey indicates that it was not particularly easy for the respondents either.

(6) hoboenda 'smiled'

This is another plot verb with the waitress as the subject. Its use parallels that of **(4) sageta** 'lowered' and 91% of the respondents selected this form. Again, the action of the waitress affects the narrator, allowing infiltration of SP. The alternation of the tense forms in **(4)-(6)** speaks highly for Iwasaki's theory of SP, although the difference in duration of **(5)** in comparison to **(4)** and **(6)** indicates that we can not rule out a DF explanation, either.

(7) atta 'looked' **(8) ii** 'was nice' **(9) datta** 'was'

The three verbs are analyzed together. They are all state verbs (or adjectives) in the same paragraph describing the waitress, and as such

form description. The t/a forms differ, however, and we need to discuss this discrepancy. The first and third verbs have the **-ta** while the middle one is a non-past adjective. Because all three have the same subject, there is nothing to indicate that SP is shifted.

One way to look at this series is to consider the first and third clauses as description in the story proper and the middle clause as commentary or, in Sztatrowski's terms, a generality. The narrator could have used the past tense **yokatta** 'was nice' which would have made it more specific to that time, but she made it more general. Her appreciation of the lack of sophistication shown by the waitress is not limited to that particular moment in the narrative.

Another possibility is that all three clauses form a commentary to the readers. In this case, the general middle clause would be the main part of the commentary, while the first and third clauses form background within the commentary. The narrator likes this kind of waitress, and in the two background clauses, she is recalling her impression of her. This narrative is part of an essay in which the writer expresses her dissatisfaction with the cold, automated service seen in some restaurants. In some senses the entire narrative could be considered background to the commentary in the remainder of her essay. It should not be surprising if some commentary infiltrates the narrative.

In the survey, **-ta** selection for these three slots ran 83% for the first two and 96% for the final one. Most of the respondents apparently missed the distinction between narrative description and generalization, or commentary and narrative. But they were given only the narrative portion of the essay and did not see the following commentary.

(10) aru 'seemed'

This is a descriptive state verb that occurs immediately after a major interlude in the story. It is comparable to **(3) aru** encountered at the beginning of the essay. The adverbial **suu-shuukan-go** 'several weeks later' explicitly indicates past time and frees the *t/a* form to perform a function besides tense.

(11) hiraku 'opened'

This slot is comparable to **(5), tatete iru**, except that **hiraku** is more of a punctual verb than **tateru**. Again, as in **(5), momonaku** 'soon, shortly' introduces the clause immediately following, signifying a short interval between the two events. Perhaps this is why the **-ru** form⁷ was chosen for what seems to be a plot verb.

One difference between the situation in **(11)** and the one in **(5)** is that the narrator is the subject of **(11)**. Even though the SP should be different, the same **-ru** form is used. We could claim that vividness is the cause, but there is no evidence for it other than the need to find some explanation.

Another possibility was suggested in a post-survey interview with a native speaker. In (11) as in (5) the informant felt that if the interval between two events is short, the **-ru** (including **-te iru**) was more likely in the first verb. When asked directly, she said that **V-ru to** could be substituted in both (5) and (11) without a major change in meaning. A **V-ru to** construction has a chaining function similar to that of **V-te**. But the perspective can change between the two clauses linked by the **V-ru to**, whereas consistent perspective is maintained with **V-te**.

(12) yatte kita 'came'

This clause has the waitress coming up to the narrator's table. In a DF description, the **-ta** form would be expected, because this appears to be a typical plot clause. It is also similar to clauses (4)**sageta** 'lowered' and (6)**hohoenda** 'smiled', in which someone other than the narrator does something which affects the narrator. The narrator is the recipient of the action, and SP predicts the **-ta** form. If participant-tracking were an issue, the fact that most everyone (the narrator and 96% of the respondents) chose this form might indicate that they felt that this clause was somehow more vivid. This, however, would have to be tested in a survey such as the one performed by Szatrowski.

(13) aru 'was' **(14) hohoende-wa-iru** 'was smiling'

These two clauses give a description of the waitress. Both the **-ru** and **-te iru** forms are in accordance with participant-tracking, SP, and

DF. In the survey the choices for (14) were limited to a form with a **-te** because the particle **wa** is present. Over 70% of the respondents chose the **-te ita** form, keeping it in the past.

(15) satte itta 'left'

Everyone chose this form, which suggests that its function is fairly clear-cut in everyone's mind. The **-ta** form is consistent with a plot function, although its use with respect to SP and participant-tracking require further explanation. Because the subject is the waitress, both of these approaches seem to call for the **-ru**. SP infiltration might influence the choice if the departure of the waitress affects the narrator. Otherwise, only an appeal to vividness remains.

(16) motte ita 'was carrying'

Because Iwasaki's and Soga's approaches only deal with sentence final verbs, they have no bearing on (16). The verb is in a modifying position. Everyone uses **-te**, indicating that it is not a plot verb. Both description and background allow for the use of the suffix, and we need to determine which of these functions the verb fulfills here. The **-te** suggests that the act was extended in time. That is more consistent with a descriptive function than a backgrounding one. The use of the **-ta** by the author and 72% of the respondents and the subordinate clause, however, imply that the act is anterior to that of the main verb **oshi** 'press', a characteristic of backgrounding. Another interpretation is put

forth by Josephs (in Majewicz 1985 : 105). The subordinated **-te ita**, as opposed to the **-te iru**, emphasizes the fact that the speaker/writer noticed the act/state represented by the verb prior to the moment given by the main verb. The waitress was obviously carrying the device prior to pushing it; otherwise, she would not have it.

(17) **wakaranai** 'don't know' (18) **rashii** 'looks like'

These forms perform the same function and are considered together. The author and most of the respondents selected the **-ru** form. For them, these clauses are part of the commentary between the author and her readers. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the section containing the two clauses is parenthesized, indicating that it is not part of the narrative proper. The respondents who chose the **-ta** form were either viewing it as part of the narrative or a backgrounded commentary.

(19) **aru** 'was' (20) **makushiteru** 'rattled off'

These are a commentary to readers. Notice that only one person chose the **-te iru** form for (20), even though this is not a state verb. Szatrowski points out that **-te** lowered the generality rating, and generality is a characteristic of such commentary. Notice that 48% of the respondents selected the **-te ita** form. For them, this was not commentary, but rather description within the story.

(21) totte ita 'were taking'

This is the last clause. It presents the final state in the narrative. It has a clearly descriptive function within the DF framework. The choice of a form with the **-te** DF predicts. A theory based on the participant-tracking function of the t/a forms would have to resort to a vividness function. An SP approach would no doubt consider this an example of discovery by the narrator and would point to SP infiltration.

5.4 Comments

In light of the above observations, we propose a model of narrative structure based on the discourse functions of plot, description, and background. Appendix J-6, which shows this structure, corresponds to Appendix P-7, which performs the same function for the Polish. Even though the Japanese narrative portion is much shorter, we still observe a relatively complex structure involving the narrative proper and commentary.

With the Japanese text as with the Polish, it can be difficult to place each and every clause into one and only one category. An author can choose alternative structurings for a particular narrative. Thus (7) - (9) and (19) - (20) could be either description within the narrative proper or commentary from the author to the reader. Also, backgrounded events which extend in time can closely resemble description. This was seen in **(16)motte ita 'was carrying'**. Accordingly, the model presented

in J-6 should be considered a tentative one. However, the flexibility it provides parallels the flexibility seen in real-language texts, and this is a major advantage.

The DF approach does not preclude SP. In some ways they bolster each other. Plot clauses tend to have the narrator as the agent or somehow affected by the act. This is consistent with SP. Thus **-ta** verbs are expected. In fact, non-**-ta** verbs only appear twice in our Plot column: **(5)tate iru** 'cast' and **(11) hiraku** 'open'. (5) is extended in time, and this accounts for a marked use of the **-te** suffix. At first glance, the use of the **-ru** is harder to explain in DF than in SP. This clause would probably not be primary perspective by Iwasaki's standards because both participants (the waitress and her manager) are persons other than the writer. The only problem is that (11) is also a **-ru** verb but the subject is the writer. This indicates primary perspective, leaving one to wonder why the **-ta** was not chosen. However, both (5) and (11) could be replaced by **V-ru to**, a construct that parallels the **V-te** clause-chaining form. Szatrowski's results show that the **V-te** form was rated high as a Narrative Event, in other words, plot. Our analysis only considers finite verbs. For further research, we need to examine how non-finite forms work.

5.5 Notes

¹The numbers were rounded off to the nearest percent, giving a total of 101% for the writer.

²Even in the Polish data, there was evidence of quite a complicated structure, with the narrative including substories and different points of view.

³We talk about non-final verbs at the end of this chapter.

⁴**V-te** gerunds are also quite likely to represent narrative events and should, therefore, be associated with plot. However, they are not finite forms.

⁵By definition, they can not have the **-te-**. Recall Kindaichi's classification, outlined in Chapter 3.

⁶Syromyatnikov (Majewicz : 135) calls the **V-te** form "the non-final form of the antecedent tense."

⁷The verb **hiraku** 'open' is in the **-ru** form. We have not gone into great detail about verb morphology in Japanese. In addition to forms actually ending in **-ru**, there are verbs which have an **-u** following a consonant. It is fairly common practice to use **-ru** to refer to all of these forms.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

There are observations and conclusions scattered throughout the preceding chapters. Here, however, we discuss some of the more salient ones. We also address possible problems in this study in conjunction with suggestions for further research.

6.1 Discourse Function and Narrative Structure

Analysis of a spoken text and a survey give clear evidence for a three-way organization of narrative in Polish into plot, description, and background functions. The function of a clause in discourse and the time frame the speaker uses provide the unmarked t/a choice for that clause's verb. We return to this point in more detail in Section 6.2. Analysis of a written text and a parallel survey indicate that a similar organization of narrative structure exists in Japanese.

The original motivation for this work on discourse structure was personal. It arose from a desire to find some pattern or model which would aid foreign learners to comprehend and eventually master Slavic aspect. The discussion in Section 2.8 points out discrepancies in aspect choice between native-speakers of Russian and foreign learners. It was suggested that these discrepancies resulted from the fact that textbooks for foreign learners of Russian consistently teach aspect using isolated sentences. These texts also provide a catch-all semantic division of the

perfective/imperfective aspect pair in a marked and unmarked opposition, with the imperfective as the unmarked member.

This assignment of markedness is misleading. For example, one commonly accepted definition has the perfective indicating a change of state, while the imperfective does not say one way or another whether a change of state occurs. The problem for the non-native speaker is determining when to specify a change of state. Logic would indicate that, when in doubt, they should choose the unmarked form. The data here and in other texts, however, show that, in past time narrative, the frequency of the perfective is greater than that of the imperfective.

Therefore, a global assignment of markedness is questionable. In the preceding chapters it is shown that markedness is context-sensitive. For example, in a past time narrative in Polish the unmarked t/a for plot and background clauses is past perfective and the unmarked t/a for descriptive clauses is past imperfective. Moreover, the data from the two surveys indicate that t/a form choice can vary, even among native speakers, depending on the survey-takers' perception of the discourse structure and the discourse function of a particular clause.

Although we propose a narrative structure different from the popular foreground/background division, this work not an attack on Hopper. His approach provides a valuable lesson for aspect analysis. Namely, aspect must not be considered in isolation. Aspect choice is influenced by the discourse function of the clauses the verbs are in.

While Hopper's work is quite important, it has some problems. For one thing, the texts he analyzed are quite short. Now a binary division of discourse function ties in nicely with the binary opposition of Slavic perfective/imperfective. But Hopper's discourse organization does not account for a number of perfective verbs that do not exhibit foregrounding. Analyses of the data and results from the surveys support a third category, giving a three-way system of plot, description, and background.

6.2 Context-sensitive Markedness

Markedness in t/a forms is determined by the discourse function and the time-frame of the story. The breakdown of the unmarked forms for Polish is given in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Time frame	Narrative Function		
	Plot	Description	Background
Past	p-perf	p-imp	p-perf
Present	np-imp	np-imp	p-perf

This three-way structure was originally introduced to account for perfectives that did not exhibit a foregrounding function. There was some concern because there are only two aspect forms for three functions. Note, however, that when tense is taken into consideration, each function has a different distribution. The unmarked t/a forms for plot and description differ, depending on whether the time frame is past

or present. Background, on the other hand, remains the same, past perfective, no matter what the time frame the story is.

It must be stressed here that Table 6.1 gives the unmarked forms associated with these functions. Marked, specific uses of t/a forms are possible. For example, an act extended in time can be expressed by a past imperfective, even when it occurs as a plot clause.

The situation with the t/a forms in Japanese is much more complicated. Even a division of forms into binary oppositions of past/non-past and perfective/imperfective¹ such as that represented in Table 3.1 does not give a clear picture. In this division, the complex forms, i.e. those with the **-te-** suffix, are imperfectives. However, unlike state verbs in Polish, which only occur in the imperfective, stative verbs in Japanese occur in the simple form. The simple form can therefore represent both non-stative perfective verbs and stative imperfectives. Thus it is necessary to know the *Aktionsart* of a verb to determine its aspect when it occurs in the simple form. Moreover, a formal aspect division based on the complex vs. the simple forms would be better defined as one of imperfective (durative) vs. unspecified (non-durative). The forms with **-te-** would be marked in such a semantic opposition. Of course, in a discourse, clause function determines the actual markedness.

As the above discussion indicates, it is very difficult to pinpoint one unmarked t/a form for each of the three functions. However, some generalizations can be made. An imperfective (durative) is not likely in a

plot clause. Accordingly, a plot clause is not likely to have a **-te-** form, a stative verb, or an adjective. The opposite is true of description. Stative verbs and verbs with the **-te-** forms are the likeliest candidates for descriptive clauses. For background clauses, **-ta** is the least marked form and **-ru** the most marked.

The situation is further complicated by other factors influencing t/a form choice. Section 3.2 in Chapter 3 discusses 11 features proposed by Szatrowski, some of which may be related to t/a form choice. Some of these features can be associated with DF, but not all. Of these, vividness is especially difficult to codify and predict. Iwasaki's SP is also a factor, but one which may, pending further investigation, turn out to be part of a DF approach.

6.3 Substories, Point of View, and Narrative Structure

The data indicate that narrative structure is much more complicated than first envisioned. The Polish data, in particular, show the existence of substories in the narrative based on point of view. The narrator was both talking to her audience and relating a story. This implies a division into interactive comments and the narrative proper. The non-past was the tense of choice for the former and past for the latter. Even within the narrative proper, however, there was a difference between the main story and a substory. The substory, like the interactive comments, was realized by a present time frame. This resulted in a shift in unmarked t/a forms. This shift distinguished substories which were told from different points of view. The story of the

camping trip, which was from the narrator's point of view, was normally in past time frame. Substories based on other characters' points of view were told in a present time frame. There were also substories which were shunted back in time, in other words, backgrounded. They need to be investigated further.

There is also evidence of hierarchical narrative organization. The substories have their own narrative structure. In other words, a substory told from a point of view different from that of the narrator can have its own plot, description, and background.

6.4 Background and Subordination

The data show a third narrative function, called background, as mentioned above. But there are still concerns about recognizing that function in a text. There are, however, indicators of background. In Polish for example, verbs performing that function remain past perfective when a past time frame is translated into a present time frame. Also, background clauses are subordinated. Subordination includes grammatical subordination, of course, but it is not limited to overt grammatical subordination. There is also subordination implicit in discourse and there is semantic subordination. We consider first semantic subordination.

Semantic subordination can be difficult to establish, because it is not signaled grammatically. Background involves temporal displacement. But whether temporal displacement can be considered subordination remains to be answered. The following example shows

temporal displacement without overt subordination. A Japanese student of English recently produced the text seen in (6.1). It is an excerpt from a longer English composition. Some corrections in article use and lexical choice have been made, but the verb tenses are as is.

(6.1)

I walked to the piano calmly and bowed. After that, I adjusted the height of the chair and sat. The moment I sat on the chair, I felt an acute pain. *I caught my fingers in the chair.* No one said anything. The professors didn't even change their expression, so I started to play.

Note that the italicized clause stands out semantically. It appears to be one of a series of plot clauses, all following one another. However, real world knowledge (including the writer's confirmation of what actually happened) suggests that catching her fingers occurred prior to her sitting down. And yet the order of the clauses is reversed. Had she used a past perfect instead of the simple past, the relationship would have been much clearer. The past perfect is given in (6.2).

(6.2) I had caught my fingers in the chair.

The temporal displacement exists, but only real world knowledge or the use of the past perfect, which English has, indicates this. The use of the past perfect in this sentence would have given an example of discourse subordination without grammatical devices like a subordinate clause.

These examples also return us to the question of markedness. In EFL classes, the simple past tense is often given as the unmarked tense for past time narrative. Examples (6.1) and (6.2) show that this is

misleading. Clearly, as with Polish, markedness is context-sensitive. With English tenses as with Polish t/a forms, markedness depends on the discourse function, and there are, therefore, some cases where an unmarked form can not be freely substituted for a marked one.

6.5 Concerns about the Data and Methodology

One major concern is that only one narrative from each language was tested. For example, the narrator of the Polish narrative happened to be a very good story-teller, perhaps not representative of the general population. The Japanese text was part of an essay, a fact which may have contributed to increased usage of commentary. More narrative samples are needed.

Comparison of narrative discourse in the two languages was complicated by at least two factors: the Polish data was oral while the Japanese was written, and the two narratives differed greatly in length. The ideal situation would be to have the same experience related in the two languages. Unfortunately this would involve either translation or a setting like having subjects view a silent film and tell about it. It is questionable whether either of these methods would elicit completely natural language.

As far as length is concerned, the Japanese narrative was quite short and not a conducive environment for substories. Longer oral narratives would provide more possibilities and allow a better comparison with the Polish data. In any case, more samples are needed.

A full statistical analysis of the data presented here and an interview with the narrator would also be helpful. It would, however, be difficult to track down the original narrator for the Polish narrative. Even if she were found, over 10 years have passed since she told the story, so she can not be expected to remember her motivations. Therefore, new data must be gathered to permit this kind of study.

There are also problems with the survey population. The population was not representative of the total population of native speakers of Polish. All of the respondents were in college. A large number of them were from the Wielkopolska region, in and around Poznan. All were English majors, which might influence their t/a choices in Polish. Also, being English majors, a majority of them were female, so there is a gender imbalance. Future surveys must have participants who constitute a better cross-section of the population as a whole, if a reasonable statistical analysis is to be performed.

6.6 Final Comments

A three-way functional organization of narrative discourse predicts the unmarked t/a choice for verbs in a given time frame. However, this is not a rigid organization. The unmarked can be superseded by marked choices, if the narrator's pragmatic considerations apply. Still, it makes sense to teach learners the unmarked text organization as a means for choosing t/a forms, rather than some global rule based on an assumption of markedness free of context.

The use of the non-past in the Polish narrative for substories about participants other than the speaker is intriguing. This just happens to be the t/a form Iwasaki postulates as the marker for secondary perspective. We need to determine whether this is coincidental or whether there is a relationship between point of view and SP. If so, the fact that it is exhibited in two such different languages as Polish and Japanese calls for further cross-language investigation.

6.7 Notes

¹Actually durative/non-durative would be a better representation. This is in line with Majewicz (1985: 172), who ascribes a continuative meaning to the **-te-** forms.

APPENDIX P-1
TRANSCRIPT OF CAMPING STORY

...klasa. Cały rok następny, właśnie cała ta czwarta klasa (1)zapowiadała<pi> się dość ciężko, bo to wiadomo, raz, że egzaminy maturalne, później egzaminy na studia. W związku z czym (2)chciałam<PI>, no strasznie (3)chciałam<PI> jakos tak dosyc na luzie (4)spędzić<p> wakacje, gdzie (5)wyjechać<p> po prostu (6)odpocząć<p>. I no i jednak troche (7)spozniliam<pp> się z zalatwianiem (ze) takich roznych formalnosci, no i właśnie plany takiego zorganizowanego wyjazdu (8)spelzły<pp> na niczym. Ale, nie (9)dałam<pp> za wygrana, no za wszelka cene (10)chciałam<PI> gdzieś jednak (11)zrobić<p> jakiś wypad. No, i (12)okazało<pp> się, że równocześnie moja kuzynka, o wiele lat starsza ode mnie, Jola, (13)miała<PI> również urlop wtedy, w tym samym czasie; to (14)było<PI> chyba w lipcu albo (ze) na przelomie lipca i sierpnia. (15)Wiem<NI>, że (16)miała<PI> urlop i też zupełnie nie zaplanowany. No, i (17)postanowiliam<pp> właśnie (18)namowić<p> ja na taki wypad na Pomorze. Tym bardziej, że Jola (19)miała<PI> skompletowany cały sprzęt turystyczny właśnie i właściwie (20)postanowiliam<pp> to (21)wykorzystać<p>. (22)Namowiliam<pp> ja na Pomorze ponieważ (23)mamy<NI> tam dużo znajomych, dużo rodziny i także moglibyśmy się po prostu tak (24)wedrować<I> wzdłuż Pomorza i równocześnie od czasu do czasu moglibyśmy gdzieś się tam (25)zakotwiczyć<p> u znajomych czy, czy po prostu tam u jednej (u) cioci czy u wujka czy u innych... właśnie.

W kazdym razie (26)zdecydowaliśmy<pp> się na wyjazd. (27)Pojechalysmy<pp> sobie tam wtedy chyba pociągiem. (28)Wyladowaliśmy<pp> najpierw w Kolobrzegu. E...no i najpierw (29)były<PI> oczywiście problemy z kempingiem bo to oczywiście sezon w pełni, wszędzie wszystkie miejsca pozajmowane. Tłoczno, gwarno...e...w koncu (30)udało<pp> nam się (31)znaleźć<p> takie wspaniałe badz co badz par...kemping. I to (32)było<PI> gdzieś na skraju lasu, taka dosyc, dosyc także przyjemne miejsce. E... (33)zakwaterowaliśmy<pp> się z oczywiście po wielkich trudach. Nie (34)mogliśmy<PI> się (35)poradzić<p> z rozbiciem namiotu. Tam (36)skorzystaliśmy<pp> z pomocy uprzejmych sąsiadów. I no, i wiesz, no nad morzem jak nad morzem...spacery, prawda, kąpiele w morzu i poza tym no... (37)opalaliśmy<pi> się...takie różne sprawy. No, i strasznie (38)lubiliśmy<pi> (39)chodzić<i> na takie długie spacery. Często wieczorem tak (40)wychodziliśmy<pi> się na molo.

I pamiętam, że to (41)było<PI> chyba gdzieś tak trzeci dzień po naszym przyjeździe czy czwarty dzień, (42)wracaliśmy<pi> z takiego długiego spaceru, chyba z mola nawet wtedy (43)wracaliśmy<pi>. I...no, i właśnie jak

(44)zblizamy<ni> sie do tego kempingu, e...no, i (45)widzimy <ni>z daleka, ze w poblizu naszego namiotu (46)siedzi<ni> jakas istotka. Taka niewielka postac, rozumiesz, (47)siedzi<ni> sobie przed naszym namiotem na trawie i (48)trzyma<NI> na kolanach menazke i sobie cos (49)zajada<NI>. Wiec, my tak ze zdziwieniem (50)popatrzylismy<pp> na siebie. No, ale nic, (51)zblizamy<ni> sie. (52)Byla<PI> to taka mala dziewczynka, przesliczne dziecko, wiesz, wspaniala buziuna, takie, takie kochane czarne oczki, wlosy takie wspaniale dlugie czarne krucze, n...i ta dziewczynka, wiesz, tak (53)patrzy<ni> na...bo, wiesz, ona (54)siedzi<ni> sobie odwocona do nas twarza, zreszta. I wiesz, tak (55)patrzy<ni> na tych przechodzacych ludzi ale kompletnie nie (56)reaguje<ni> na nasz widok. No, po prostu nie (57)zdawala<pi> sobie sprawy z tego, ze (58)jestesmy<NI> wlascicielkami namiotu, oczywiscie, menazki i zawartosci tej menazki, ktora jej zreszta bardzo (59)smakowala<pi> bo widac, ze (60)zajada<NI> z najwiekszym apetytem.

No, i dopiero w momencie kiedy my, wiesz, tak (61)podeszylismy<pp> do niej i (62)zatrzymalismy<pp> sie, wiesz, to dziecko (63)sploszylo<pp> sie niesamowicie. Wiesz, taki pierwszy odruch to ta dziewczynka (64)rzucila<pp> ta menazke i tak (65)porwala<pp> sie do ucieczki. A, i z kolei u Joli taki z taki z kolei pierwszy odruch sie (66)ujawnil<pp>, ze (67)pochwycila<pp> to dziecko, wiesz, tak (68)chwycila<pi> je na rece i (69)trzyma<ni>. I ta dziewczynka tak strasznie (70)zaczela<pp> sie, wiesz, miotac tam w tych ramionach Joli i krzyczec. I (71)zaczelysmy<pp> ja spojako, ze wlasciwie nic sie nie dzieje i nikt jej krzywdy nie (72)zrobi<np> i nie bedzimy, prawda, karac ja za to, ze sie (73)poczystowala<pp> naszym jedzeniem. No, i to dziecko z taka nieufnoscia, ale tak (74)uspokoiło<pp> sie troche, wiesz, i w pewnym momencie, Jola, juz tak (75)zdawalo<pi> jej sie, ze dziecko (76)jest<NI> na tyle uspokozone i w jakis sposob, m...przekonane co do tego, ze nie bedziemy jej krzywdzic, ze juz nie bedzie uciekac, i (77)postawila<pp> to dziecko na ziemi. I to po prostu ulamek sekundy jak to dziecko (78)pierzchnelo<pp>, wiesz, to tylko, no, slad po niej (79)zaginal<pp>, wiesz, (80)zmieszala<pp> sie z tlumem, (81)uciekla<pp>. No, przez caly nastepny dzien w ogole sie nie (82)pojawila<pp>, kompletnie nie (83)widzialismy<pi> juz tego dziecko.

Dopiero, no, nie wiem, po uplywie dwoch, trzech, czy nawet czterech dni, bo juz zupełnie nie wiem dokladnie jak to (84)bylo<PI>. W kazdym razie, ja (85)zauwazyłam<pp> ta dziewczynke bawiaca sie w tlumie...w takiej, wiesz, gromadzie innych dzieci. Ja wtedy pamietam, (86)siedzialam<pi> chyba gdzieś na lezaku przed namiotem. E...i nie (87)zwracalam<pi> wlasciwie kompletnie uwagi na to dziecko, ale, po pewnym czasie, wlasciwie (88)zauwazyłam<pp>, ze ona (89)zachowuje<ni> sie co najmniej dziwnie, bo ona co prawda (90)bawi<NI> sie z tymi dziecmi ale, ale ona kompletnie nie (91)uczestniczy<NI> w tej zabawie, bo co chwile, wiesz, ona sie tak (92)odrywa<ni> od tej grupki i (93)biegnie<ni> sobie gdzieś miedzy tymi namiotami. A rownoczesnie widac, ze ona tak (94)rzuca<ni> oczami, wiesz, i w prawo i w lewo, i (95)obserwuje<ni>. Strasznie jakos tak, z takim

wyżeniem, wiesz, (96)rozglada<ni> sie dookola, potem znowu, wiesz, (97)wraca<ni> do tych dzieci, (98)bawi<NI> sie. Ja tak wlasciwie (99)chcialam<PI> m... (100)obserwowac<i>. Wiesz, i w pewnym momencie, (101)zauwazyłam<pp>, ze ona w tych swoich wypadach (102)zaczyna<ni> tak coraz bardziej zbliczac sie w kierunku lasu. Wspomnialam juz na poczatku, ze w ogole caly ten kemping (103)miesci<ni> sie na skraju lasu. E...a w pewnym momencie ona po prostu (104)siadla<pp> na ziemi, wiesz, zwrcona twarza w kierunku lasu, (105)usiadla<pp> na ziemi i po prostu (106)zamarla<pp> w tym bezruchu...kompletnie, przez, no, najblizsze, nie wiem, dwadziescia czy, czy nawet pol godziny, wiesz, dwadziescia minut czy nawet pol godziny, ona po prostu nie (107)ruszyla<pp> sie z miejsca, tylko (108)siedziala<pi> i cos (109)obserwowala<pi>. Wiesz, tak strasznie (110)kusilo<pi> mnie, zeby e...sprawdzic, co ja tak strasznie (111)zafascynowalo<pp>.

Ale, no, juz nie pamietam, Boze, juz nie pamietam, ale bodajze ktos, po prostu, ktos ze znajomych wtedy, wtedy (112)przyszeli<pp> do mnie i ja nawet (113)nosilam<PI> sie z zamiarem podejscia do tej dziewczynki i sprawdzenia tego bo ona (114)byla<PI> tak niesamowicie zaafierowana tym widokiem, no ze to (115)bylo<PI> cos strasznie dziwnego. Oczywiscie (116)zaczela<pp> sie rozmowa, m...tak ze ja zupełnie (117)zapomnialam<pp> o tym dziecku. I...wlasciwie strasznie (118)bylo<PI> moje zdziwienie kiedy po uplywie jakiegos czasu (119)zblizyla<pp> sie do nas Jola prowadzac za reke wlasnie to dziecko. (120)Zauwazyłam<pp>, ze dziecko (121)bylo<PI> nienaturalnie rozpromienione, wiesz, te czarne oczy az (122)palaly<pi>; rownoczesnie (123)bylo<PI> jakos strasznie ozywione. (124)Zauwazyłam<pp> tez niesamowita zmiane na twarzy Joli. Ona, co prawda, (125)usiadla<pp> e...caly czas nie ostepujac tej dziewczynki, (126)usiadla<pp> nawet przy stoliku tam z nami, wiesz, przed tym namiotem, ale...no niby (127)uczestniczyla<PI> w rozmowie ale widac (128)bylo<PI> ze myslami (129)jest<NI> zupełnie gdzie indziej. Ja (130)wyczulam<pp> ze (131)musialo<PI> cos (132)zajsc<p>, wiesz, ale ja nie (133)potrafilam<P?> wlasciwie, no nie (134)potrafilam<P?> sobie (135)zdac<p> sprawy, o co konkretnie (136)chodzi<ni>. Jola nie (137)zaczynala<pi> mowic, zreszta. Ja pozniej przez cale to popoludnie i caly czas (138)pozostawalam<pi> w stanie takiej niewiedzy. Jola nic nie (139)mowila<pi> a ja, z kolei, nie (140)mam<NI> zwyczaju (141)wypytywac<i> ludzi o rzeczy dotyczace, no, moze jakies, nie wiem, intymnej strony czy, wiesz, ich wnetrza, wnetrz, ktorych sami nie (142)chca<NI> (143)ujawnic<p>. Ale, no, wieczorem Jola nie (144)wytrzymała<pp>...ja (145)wiedzialam<PI> ze ona cos w sobie (146)dusi<ni>, wiesz, cos w sobie (147)gnebi<NI>, ale...no, wlasnie, i wieczorem tama (148)zostala<pp> przerwana. Jola (149)byla<PI> niesamowicie roztrzesiona kiedy (150)kazala<P?> mi (151)usiasec<p> w namiocie. (152)Weszlyśmy<pp> obydwie do namiotu i (153)zaczela<pp> opowiadac.

Ech, wlasnie (154)okazalo<pp> sie wtedy, kiedy ja

(155)obserwowałam<pi> właśnie ta dziewczynka siedząca i wpatrująca się uparcie w jakiś punkt na skraju lasu, ta dziewczynka (156)obserwowała<pi> niekogo innego tylko Jole, która właśnie na leżaku (157)drzemala<PI> sobie właśnie tam na skraju lasu. I co się okazało? Po pewnym czasie ta dziewczynka w ogóle (158)podeszła<pp> do Joli, (159)zblizyla<pp> się do Joli, (160)siedziała<pi> no w jakiejś odległości trzech kroków, cały czas wpatrując się w nią. I Jola (161)mowi<ni>, że ona po prostu (162)poczula<pp> że ktoś ją (163)obserwuje<ni> i tak, wiesz, spod przymkniętych niemalże powiek (164)spojrzała<pp>, (165)zauwazyła<pp> dziewczynkę, a dziewczynka równocześnie nie (166)zauwazyła<pp> tego, że Jola, no, już w tej chwili (167)zdaje<ni> sobie sprawę z jej obecności. Dziewczynka nie (168)przerwała<pp> swej obserwacji. Natomiast Jola, przez jakieś kilkanaście minut (169)utrzymywała<pi> w przekonaniu że ona po prostu (170)spi<NI>. Wiesz co się później stało? Wyobraź sobie, że to dziecko (171)podeszło<pp> po wolutku do Joli, (172)ujelo<pp> Jole za rękę i cichutkim głosem (173)zaczelo<pp> nazywać Jole 'mama'....

Mama Agnieszka (174)powiedziała<pp> też Joli, że tydzień temu (175)uciekła <pp> z domu dziecka.

APPENDIX P-2
TRANSLATION OF CAMP TEXT

...class. The whole next year, actually the whole senior year **(1)promised** to be difficult, because everyone knows, first, the final exam for high school, later, the entrance exams for the university. Because of this, I **(2)wanted**, right, I really **(3)wanted (4)to spend** a relaxing vacation; **(5)go** somewhere and simply **(6)take it easy**. And, well, however, I **(7)put off** arranging things and, well, my plans to go on an organized tour **(8)fell through**. But I **(9)didn't give up**; right, at any cost I still **(10)wanted (11)to take** some kind of a trip. Well, and it **(12)turned out** that at the same time my cousin Jola, a number of years older than me, also **(13)had** a break then, at that same time; this **(14)was** probably in July or at the end of July or beginning of August. I **(15)know** that she **(16)had** vacation time and she didn't have any kind of plans. Right, and I **(17)decided** to just **(18)talk** her **into** a little trip to the Pomorze area. All the more because Jola **(19)had** a whole complete set of camping gear and so I **(20)decided** to **(21)take advantage** of that. I **(22)talked** her **into** the Pomorze area because we **(23)have** a lot of friends there, a lot of family and we could also **(24)wander** along the Pomorze area and, at the same time, from time to time, we could **(25)drop anchor** somewhere with friends or simply with an aunt or uncle, or someone else...right.

In any case, we **(26)decided** to go. We **(27)went** there, probably by train. First, we **(28)landed** in Kolobrzeg. Right, and first there **(29)were**, of course, problems with finding a campground because it was, of course, at the height of the season, and all the places were filled up. Packed, busy... but, in the end, we **(30)succeeded** in **(31)finding** a fantastic place anyway. It **(32)was** at the edge of a forest, such a nice, nice spot. There was, of course, a lot of hassle, but we **(33)got registered**. We **(34)weren't able (35)to set up** the tent at first, but then we **(36)took advantage** of the help of some friendly neighbors. And, right, and, you know, well, being near the sea ...walks, right, swimming in the sea, and, besides, well...we would **(37)catch rays**...different kinds of things. Right, and we really **(38)liked (39)going** on really long walks. Often, in the evening, we **(40)would walk** out to the pier.

I remember, it **(41)was** probably somewhere around the third day after our arrival, or the fourth day, we **(42)were returning** from a really long walk, probably from the pier even, we **(43)were returning**... Right, and we **(44)are coming up** to the campground and we **(45)see** from a distance that some kind of a small being **(46)is sitting** near our tent. Such a small individual, you understand, **(47)is sitting** in front of our tent, on the grass, **(48)holding** a mess kit on her lap, and **(49)chowing down** something. Right, we **(50)looked** at each other in surprise. Right,

okay, we **(51)move closer**. It **(52)was** a small little girl, a beautiful child, you know, a cute little face, such darling dark eyes, hair so splendidly long, raven-colored... and this little girl, you know, **(53)is looking at...** because, you know, she **(54)is sitting** facing us, moreover. And, you know, she **(55)is looking at** the passersby, but she **(56)doesn't react** at all to the sight of us. Right, she simply **(57)did not realize** that we **(58)are** the owners of the tent, and, of course, of the mess kit, and of the contents of the mess kit, which, moreover, obviously **(59)appealed** to her palate, because you can see, she's really **(60)chowing down**.

Right, and, you know, once we **(61)had approached** her and **(62)had stopped**, you know, that child **(63)started** unbelievably. You know, as her first reaction, the little girl **(64)threw** the mess kit and **(65)took to her heels**. And for Jola, in turn, her first reaction **(66)manifested** itself such that she **(67)grabbed** the child, you know, she **(68)took** her arms, and **(69)is holding** her. And the girl **(70)started** to, you know, jerk about in her arms and cry. And we **(71)started** to assure her that we, as a matter of fact, **(72)won't punish** her just because she **(73)had helped herself** to our food. Right, and the child with such suspicion, but she **(74)had calmed** down a bit, so that it **(75)seemed** to Jola that the child **(76)is calmed down** enough and convinced that we won't hurt her, so that she isn't going to run away, and she **(77)put** the child on the ground. And it was just a split second before that kid **(78)took off**, you know, it was only, well, she **(79)disappeared** without a trace, **(80)mixed** in with the crowd and **(81)escaped...** Right, the whole next day, she **(82)didn't show up** at all, we **(83)didn't see** her at all anymore.

Only, well, I don't know, two or three, maybe even four days later; I am not at all sure anymore exactly when it **(84)was**. In any case, I **(85)noticed** the little girl playing in a group...with a bunch of other kids. I remember then I **(86)was sitting**, probably somewhere in a lounge chair in front of the tent. Hmm...and I really **(87)wasn't paying attention** to the child, but, after a certain period of time, I then **(88)noticed** that she **(89)was behaving** a bit odd; true, she **(90)is playing** with the kids, but she really **(91)isn't participating** in the game at all, because every now and then she, you know, **(92)breaks away** from the group and **(93)runs** among the tents. And at the same time you can see that she **(94)glances about**, you know, to the right and left and **(95)is observing** something. With such concentration, you know, she **(96)looks around**. And then she **(97)returns** to the kids and **(98)plays**. I so really **(99)wanted m...** **(100)to observe** her. You know, at a certain point I **(101)noticed** that, in her little trips, she **(102)started** to get closer and closer to the edge of the forest. I mentioned at the beginning that the campground **(103)is located** at the edge of a forest. Hmm, at a certain point in time she **(104)sat** herself down on the ground, you know, facing the forest, she **(105)had sat** on the ground, and simply **(106)froze** in that position... completely, for

the next, well, I don't know, twenty or, or half hour, you know, twenty minutes or even a half an hour, she simply **(107)did not move**, just **(108)sat** and watching something. You know, I really **(109)was tempted (110)to check out** what **(111)had fascinated** her so.

But, well, I don't remember anymore, but it seems one of my friends **(112)dropped by**, and I **(113)was** even **(114)planning** to go up to the girl and check it out, because she **(115)was** so unbelievably absorbed in what she saw, well, that it **(116)was** something really strange. But, of course, a conversation got **(117)started** m... and I completely **(118)forgot** about the child. And so it **(119)was** to my great surprise when, after a bit, Jola **(120)approached** us, leading by the hand that very child. I noticed that the kid **(121)was** usually radiant, you know, those black eyes **(122)were** afire; at the same time she **(123)was** somehow very animated. I also **(124)noticed** an unbelievable change on Jola's face. She, it's true, **(125)sat** down... the whole time not letting go of the girl, she had even **(126)sat** down at the table with us, you know, in front of the tent, but... well, though, on the surface, she **(127)was taking part** in the conversation, you **(128)could tell** her mind **(129)was** somewhere else completely. I **(130)felt** that something **(131)must (132)have happened**, you know, but I really **(133)wasn't able** to, you know, I **(134)wasn't able (135)to determine** what **(136)had happened**. Besides, Jola **(137)wasn't talking** on her own. Later, throughout the whole afternoon, I **(138)remained** in ignorance. Jola **(139)wasn't saying** anything and I, in turn, **(140)am not** of the habit of **(141)grilling** people concerning, well, maybe intimate matters or, you know, their innermost thoughts, thoughts that they themselves **(142)don't want (143)to reveal**. But, you know, in the evening Jola **(144)gave in**. I **(145)knew** that she **(146)was keeping** something inside, something **(147)was bothering** her, but... well, right, in the evening the dam **(148)burst**. Jola **(149)was** awfully upset when she **(150)told me (151)to sit** down in the tent. We both **(152)went** into the tent and she **(153)started** talking.

Hmm, it **(154)turned out** that, when I **(155)was observing** the little girl sitting and staring intently at some point at the edge of the forest, she **(156)was observing** none other than Jola, who **(157)was napping** in a lounge chair right there at the edge of the forest. And what happened? After a certain time, the girl **(158)approached** Jola, **(159)got closer** to her, **(160)was sitting**, well, at a distance of about three steps, the whole time staring at her. Jola **(161)says** that she simple **(162)felt** that someone **(163)was watching** her and just, you know, **(164)looked** out from under her eyelids, **(165)noticed** the girl, while the girl, on the other hand, **(166)did not notice** that Jola at that moment already **(167)was aware** of her presence. The girl **(168)did not stop** watching. On the other hand, Jola, during the next fifteen minutes or so, **(169)pretended** that she **(170)was sleeping**. You know what happened

then? Imagine, the girl **(171)went up to** Jola very slowly, **(172)took** Jola by the hand and, in a quiet voice, **(173)started** to call Jola "mama." ...

Little Agnieszka also **(174)told** Jola, that a week ago she **(175)had escaped** from and orphanage.

APPENDIX P-3
COMBINED RESULTS

T&A Group

#	PAST IMPERFECTIVE	PAST PERFECTIVE	NON-PAST IMPERF	OTHER
1	ZAPOWIADALA 100	zapowiedziedziala 0	zapowiada 2	
7	spozniałam 2	SPOZNILAM* 98	spoznia 0	spoznic(P)2
8	spelzaly 2	SPELZLY 98	spelzaja 0	
9	dawalam 29	DALAM 71	daje 0	dajac 2
12	okazywalo 0	OKAZALO 100	okazuje 0	
17	postanawialam 0	POSTANOWILAM 100	postanawiam 0	
20	postanawialam 0	POSTANOWILAM 100	postanawiam 0	
22	namawialam 48	NAMOWILAM 54	namawiam 0	namowie 2
26	decydowalysmy 0	ZDECYDOWALYSMY 100	decydujemy 0	
27	jechalysmy 8	POJECHALYSMY 88	jedziemy 0	pojedziemy 4
28	ladowalysmy 0	WYLADOWALYSMY 98	ladujemy 0	wyladujemy 2
30	udawalo 0	UDALO 100	udaje 0	
33	kwaterowalysmy 0	ZAKWATEROWYWALYSMY 100	kwatarujemy 0	
36	korzystalysmy 2	SKORZYSTALYSMY 98	korzystamy 0	
37	OPALALYSMY* 96	opalilysmy 2	opalamy 0	opalenie(I) 42
38	LUBILYSMY 56	polubilysmy 40	lubimy 8	
40	WYCHODZILYSMY 94	wyszlysm 0	chodzilysm 2	wyjsc 4
42	WRACALYSMY 81	wrocilism 17	wracamy 0	wracajac 2
43	WRACALYSMY 85	wrocilism 15	wracamy 0	
44	zblizalysmy 88	zblizylism 10	ZBLIZAMY 2	zblizymy 2
45	widzialysmy 6	zobaczylism 88	WIDZIMY 4	widzac 2
46	siedziala 35	usiadla 8	SIEDZI 58	
47	siedziala 69	usiadla 12	SIEDZI 19	siedzaca 2
50	patrzylysm 2	POPATRZYLYSMY 98	patrzymy 0	
51	zblizalysmy 0	zblizylism* 88	ZBLIZAMY 12	nie zblizalo(P)2
53	patrzyła 73	popatrzyła 25	PATRZY 2	
54	siedziala 98	usiadla 0	SIEDZI 2	
55	patrzyła 98	popatrzyła 0	PATRZY 2	
56	reagowala 29	zreagowala 71	REAGUJE 2	
57	ZDAWALA 94	zdala 6	zdaje 0	

59	SMAKOWAŁA 87	zasmakowała 12	smakuje 6	
61	podchodziliśmy 2	PODESZLIYSMY 98	podchodzimy 0	
62	zatrzymywaliśmy 0	ZATRZYMALYSMY 100	zatrzymujemy 0	
63	płoszyło 0	SPLOSZYŁO 100	płoszy 0	
64	rzucala 0	RZUCIŁA 98	rzuca 2	
65	porywała 0	PORWAŁA* 98	porywa 2	poderwała(P)2
66	ujawniał 0	UJAWNIŁ 100	ujawnia 0	
67	chwytala 0	chwyciła* 102	chwytą 0	POCHWYCILA(P)25
68	chwytala 0	CHWYCILA* 106	chwytą 0	pochwyciła(P)27
69	trzymała 87	potrzymala* 4	TRZYMA 10	przytrzymała(P)2
70	zaczynała 0	ZACZEŁA 98	zaczyna 0	
71	zaczynamy 0	ZACZELYSMY 98	zaczynamy 0	
72	robił 0	zrobił 0	robi 2	ZROBI 96
73	czestowała 0	POCZESTOWAŁA 100	czestuje 0	
74	uspakajało 4	USPOKIŁO 96	uspakaja 0	
75	ZDAWAŁO 81	zdalo* 19	zdaje 0	wydalo(P)2
77	stawiała 0	POSTAWIŁA 100	stawia 0	
78	pierzchało 0	PIERZCHNEŁO 100	pierzcha 0	
80	mieszala 0	ZMIESZAŁA 100	mieszą 0	
81	uciekala 0	UCIEKŁA 94	ucieka 0	uciekajac 4
82	pojawiała 13	POJAWIŁA 87	pokazywał 2	
83	WIDZIAŁYSMY 72	zobaczyliśmy 28	widziemy 0	
85	zauwazalam 0	ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	zauwazam 0	
86	SIEDZIAŁAM 96	usiadlam 4	siedze 0	
87	ZWRACAŁAM 52	zwrocilam 48	zwracam 0	
88	zauwazalam 0	ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	zauwazam 0	
89	zachowywała 42	zachowala 0	ZACHOWUJE 58	
92	odrywała 88	oderwala 4	ODRYWA 8	
93	biegala/biegła* 92	pobiegła 0	biega/BIEGNIJE 8	biegła(l) 17
94	rzucala 90	rzucila 0	RZUCA 10	
95	obserwowała* 92	przegladało się 2	OBSERWUJE 10	patrzyła(l)2
96	rozgladala 94	rozejrzela 2	ROZGLADA 4	
97	wracala 81	wrocila 13	WRACA 4	
101	zauwazalam 0	ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	zauwazam 0	
102	zaczynała 8	zaczela 31	ZACZYNA 62	
103	miescił 100	zamiescił 0	MIESCIO 0	

104	siadała 4	usiadła* 96	siada 0	SIADŁA*(P) 29
105	siedziała 49	USIADŁA* 51	usiadzi 0	siadła*(P) 2
106	zamierała 2	ZAMARŁA 98	zamiera 0	
107	ruszała 75	RUSZYŁA 25	rusza 0	
108	SIEDZIAŁA 100	usiadła 0	siedzi 0	
109	OBSERWOWAŁA 100	zaobserwowała 0	obserwuje 0	
110	KUSIŁO 100	skusiło 0	kusi 0	
111	fascynowała 6	ZAFASCYNOWAŁO 71	fascynuje 23	
112	przychodził 0	PRZYSZEDŁ 100	przychodzi 0	
116	zaczynała 0	ZACZĘŁA 100	zaczyna 0	
117	zapominałam 0	ZAPOMNIAŁAM 100	zapominam 0	
119	zblizala 0	ZBLIZYŁA 98	zbliza 2	
120	zauważalam 0	ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	zauważam 0	
122	PALĄŁY 90	plonely/zapałaly 8	pałaja 0	zapałaja 2
124	zauważalam 0	ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	zauważam 0	
125	siedziła 90	USIADŁA 10	siedzi 0	
126	siedziła 42	USIADŁA 58	siedzi 0	siedzac 2
130	wyczuwałam* 35	WYCZUŁAM 67	wyczuje 0	czulam(l) 6
136	chodziło* 52	poszło 19	CHODZI 33	szło(l) 2
137	zaczynała 40	ZACZĘŁA 62	zaczyna 0	
138	POZOSTAWAŁAM 71	pozostałam 29	pozostaje 0	
139	MOWIŁA 85	powiedziała 21	mowi 0	
144	wytrzymywała 0	WYTRZYMAŁA 100	wytrzymuje 0	
146	dusiła 23	zdusiła 0	DUSI 77	
148	zostawała 0	ZOSTAŁA 100	zostaje 0	
152	wchodziliśmy 0	WESZLYSMY 100	wchodzimy 0	
153	zaczynała 0	ZACZĘŁA 98	zaczyna 2	
154	okazywało 0	OKAZAŁO 100	okazuje 0	
155	OBSERWOWAŁAM 96	zaobserwowałam 4	obserwuje 0	
156	OBSERWOWAŁA 98	zaobserwowała 2	obserwuje 0	
158	podchodziła 2	PODESZŁA* 98	podchodzi 0	zaczęła (P) podch..2
159	zblizala 0	ZBLIZYŁA 100	zbliza 0	
160	SIEDZIAŁA 4	usiadła 92	siedzi 0	
161	mowiła 8	powiedziała 90	MOWI 2	
162	czuła 44	(WY/PO)CZUŁA 56	czuje 0	
163	obserwowała 44	zaobserwowała 0	OBSERWUJE 56	

164	spoglądała 13	SPOJRZAŁA 85	spogląda 0	spoglądając 2
165	zauważała 0	ZAUWAZYŁA 92	zauważając 2	zauważywszy 4
166	zauważała 0	ZAUWAZYŁA 96	zauważając 4	
167	zdawała 46	zdala* 50	ZDAJE 8	spostrzegła(P)2
168	przerwywała 62	PRZERWAŁA 40	przerzywa 0	
169	UTRZYMYWAŁA 94	utrzymała 2	utrzymuje 0	?4
171	podchodziło 0	PODESZŁO 100	podchodzi 0	
172	ujmowało 0	UJEŁO 96	ujmuje 0	ujmując 4
173	zaczynało 0	ZACZEŁO 100	zaczyna 0	
174	mowiła 0	POWIEDZIAŁA 100	mowi 0	
175	uciekała 0	UCIEKŁA 100	ucieka 0	

T Group

	PAST	NON-PAST	OTHER	OTHER
2	CHCIAŁAM 92	chce 2	chciałabym 6	chcac 2
3	CHCIAŁAM 90	chce 2	chciałabym 6	chcac 2
10	CHCIAŁAM 98	chce 0	chcac 2	
13	MIAŁA 87	ma 12	bedzie miała 2	
14	BYŁO 96	jest 4		
15	wiedziałam 94	dowiedziałam# 2	WIEM 2	wiedzac 2
16	MIAŁA 52	ma 38	bede miała 10	miałabym 2
19	MIAŁA 98	ma 2		
23	miałysmy 52	MAMY 46		
29	BYŁY 96	sa 0	beda 2	wyskoczyły 2
32	BYŁO 98	jest 2		
34	MOGLYSMY 100	mozemy 0		
41	BYŁO 100	jest 0		
48	trzymała 75	TRZYMA 23	trzymając 4	
49	zajadła 79	ZAJADA 23		
52	BYŁA 100	jest 0		
58	bylysmy 73	JESTESMY 29		
60	zajadła 98	ZAJADA 4		
76	było 58	JEST 42	bedzie 2	
79	ZAGINAL* 100	zaginie 0	nie został(P) 2	

84	BYŁO 100	jest 0	bedzie 0	
90	bawila 90	BAWI 10		
91	uczestniczyla 90	UCZESTNICZY 10		
98	bawila 79	BAWI 10	bawiac 2	bawic 10
99	CHCIAŁAM 98	zachciałam# 2	chce 0	
113	NOSIŁAM* 98	unosłam# 2	nosze 0	niosłam*(l) 15
114	BYŁA 100	jest 0		
115	BYŁO 96	musiało byc# 4	jest 2	
118	BYŁO 100	jest 0		
121	BYŁO 87	jest 13	ma 2	
123	BYŁO 96	jest 4		
127	UCZESTNICZYLA 98	uczestniczy 2		
128	BYŁO 98	jest 2		
129	było 71	JEST 27		
131	MUSIAŁO 100	musi 0		
133	POTRAFIŁAM# 98	potrafię 2		
134	POTRAFIŁAM# 98		mogłam 2	
140	miałam 48	MAM 52	miewam(l) 2	
142	chcieli 31	CHCA 63	chcieliby 6	
145	WIEDZIAŁAM 98	wiem 0		
147	gnębiło 27	GNEBI 69	chowa 4	
149	BYŁA 100	jest 0		
150	KAZAŁA# 96	kazano 2		
157	DRZEMAŁA 100	drzemie 0		
170	spala 27	SPI 73		

A Group

IMPERFECTIVE

PERFECTIVE

4	spędzać 0	SPEDZIC 100		
5	wyjeżdżać 4	WYJECHAC 92	pojechać 10	wyjeżdżać 2
6	odpoczywać 0	ODPOCZAC 100		
11	robić 0	ZROBIC 98		
18	namawiać 0	NAMOWIC 100		
21	wykorzystywać 0	WYKORZYSTAC 100		
24	WEDROWAC# 94	powędrować# 6		

25	zakotwiczac 8	ZAKWOTWICZYC* 90		
31	znajdowac 0	ZNALEZC 100		
35	radzic 0	PORADZIC 98	poradziliśmy 2	
39	CHODZIC* 104		pojsc 0	chodzenie(!) 3 7
100	OBSERWOWAC 65	zaobserwować 33	obserwowałam 2	
132	zachodzie 0	ZAJSC 100		
135	zdawac 0	ZDAC 100		
141	WYPYTYWAC* 100	wypytać 0		wypytywania(!) 6
143	ujawniac 40	UJAWNIC 62		
151	siedziec 2	USIASC 100		

zatrzymac(P) 2

APPENDIX P-4
RESULTS FOR SPEAKER

T&A Group

#	PAST IMPERFECTIVE	PAST PERFECTIVE NON-PAST IMPERF	OTHER
1	ZAPOWIADALA 100		
7		SPOZNILAM* 98	
8		SPELZLY 98	
9		DALAM 71	
12		OKAZALO 100	
17		POSTANOWILAM 100	
20		POSTANOWILAM 100	
22		NAMOWILAM 54	
26		ZDECYDOWALYSMY 100	
27		POJECHALYSMY 88	
28		WYLADOWALYSMY 98	
30		UDALO 100	
33		ZAKWATEROWYWALYSMY 100	
36		SKORZYSTALYSMY 98	
37	OPALALYSMY* 96		
38	LUBILYSMY 56		
40	WYCHODZILYSMY 94		
42	WRACALYSMY 81		
43	WRACALYSMY 85		
44			ZBLIZAMY 2
45			WIDZIMY 4
46			SIEDZI 58
47			SIEDZI 19
50		POPATRZYLSMY 98	
51			ZBLIZAMY 12
53			PATRYZ 2
54			SIEDZI 2
55			PATRYZ 2
56			REAGUJE 2
57	ZDAWALA 94		

59	SMAKOWAŁA 87		
61		PODESZLYSMY 98	
62		ZATRZYMALYSMY 100	
63		SPLOSZYŁO 100	
64		RZUCIŁA 98	
65		PORWAŁA* 98	
66		UJAWNIŁ 100	
67		POCHWYCIŁA(P) 25	
68		CHWYCIŁA* 106	
69			TRZYMA 10
70		ZACZEŁA 98	
71		ZACZELYSMY 98	
72			ZROBI 96
73		POCZESTOWAŁA 100	
74		USPOKIŁO 96	
75	ZDAWAŁO 81		
77		POSTAWIŁA 100	
78		PIERZCHNEŁO 100	
80		ZMIESZAŁA 100	
81		UCIEKŁA 94	
82		POJAWIŁA 87	
83	WIDZIAŁYSMY 72		
85		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	
86	SIEDZIAŁAM 96		
87	ZWRACAŁAM 52		
88		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	
89			ZACHOWUJE 58
92			ODRYWA 8
93			BIEGNIJE 8
94			RZUCA 10
95			OBSERWUJE 10
96			ROZGLADA 4
97			WRACA 4
101		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	
102			ZACZYNA 62
103			MIESCI 0

104		SIADLA*(P) 29	
105		USIADLA* 51	
106		ZAMARLA 98	
107		RUSZYLA 25	
108	SIEDZIAŁA 100		
109	OBSERWOWAŁA 100		
110	KUSIŁO 100		
111		ZAFASCYNOWAŁO 71	
112		PRZYSZEDŁ 100	
116		ZACZEŁA 100	
117		ZAPOMNIAŁAM 100	
119		ZBLIZYŁA 98	
120		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	
122	PALAŁY 90		
124		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100	
125		USIADLA 10	
126		USIADLA 58	
130		WYCZUŁAM 67	
136			CHODZI 33
137		ZACZEŁA 62	
138	POZOSTAWAŁAM 71		
139	MOWIŁA 85		
144		WYTRZYMAŁA 100	
146			DUSI 77
148		ZOSTAŁA 100	
152		WESZLYSMY 100	
153		ZACZEŁA 98	
154		OKAZAŁO 100	
155	OBSERWOWAŁAM 96		
156	OBSERWOWAŁA 98		
158		PODESZŁA* 98	
159		ZBLIZYŁA 100	
160	SIEDZIAŁA 4		
161			MOWI 2
162		(WY/PO)CZUŁA 56	
163			OBSERWUJE 56

164		SPOJRZAŁA 85	
165		ZAUWAZYŁA 92	
166		ZAUWAZYŁA 96	
167			ZDAJE 8
168		PRZERWAŁA 40	
169	UTRZYMYWAŁA 94		
171		PODESZŁO 100	
172		UJEŁO 96	
173		ZACZEŁO 100	
174		POWIEDZIAŁA 100	
175		UCIEKŁA 100	

T Group

	PAST	NON-PAST	OTHER	OTHER
2	CHCIAŁAM 92			
3	CHCIAŁAM 90			
10	CHCIAŁAM 98			
13	MIAŁA 87			
14	BYŁO 96			
15		WIEM 2		
16	MIAŁA 52			
19	MIAŁA 98			
23		MAMY 46		
29	BYŁY 96			
32	BYŁO 98			
34	MOGLYSMY 100			
41	BYŁO 100			
48		TRZYMA 23		
49		ZAJADA 23		
52	BYŁA 100			
58		JESTESMY 29		
60		ZAJADA 4		
76		JEST 42		
79	ZAGINAL* 100			
84	BYŁO 100			

90		BAWI 10
91		UCZESTNICZY 10
98		BAWI 10
99	CHCIALAM 98	
113	NOSILAM* 98	
114	BYLA 100	
115	BYLO 96	
118	BYLO 100	
121	BYLO 87	
123	BYLO 96	
127	UCZESTNICZYLA 98	
128	BYLO 98	
129		JEST 27
131	MUSIALO 100	
133	POTRAFILAM 98	
134	POTRAFILAM 98	
140		MAM 52
142		CHCA 63
145	WIEDZIALAM 98	
147		GNEBI 69
149	BYLA 100	
150	KAZALA 96	
157	DRZEMALA 100	
170		SPI 73

A Group

	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE
4		SPEDZIC 100
5		WYJECHAC 92
6		ODPOCZAC 100
11		ZROBIC 98
18		NAMOWIC 100
21		WYKORZYSTAC 100
24	WEDROWAC# 94	
25		ZAKWOTWICZYC* 90
31		ZNALEZC 100

35		PORADZIC 98
39	CHODZIC* 104	
100	OBSERWOWAC 65	
132		ZAJSC 100
135		ZDAC 100
141	WYPITYWAC 100	
143		UJAWNIC 62
151		USIASC 100

APPENDIX P-5
RESULTS FOR RESPONDENTS (90% AND OVER)

T&A Group

	PAST	NON-PAST	OTHER	OTHER
(1)	ZAPOWIADALA 100			
(7)		SPOZNILAM* 98		
(8)		SPELZLY 98		
(12)		OKAZALO 100		
(17)		POSTANOWILAM 100		
(20)		POSTANOWILAM 100		
(26)		ZDECYDOWALYSMY 100		
(28)		WYLADOWALYSMY 98		
(30)		UDALO 100		
(33)		ZAKWATEROWYWALYSMY 100		
(36)		SKORZYSTALYSMY 98		
(37)	OPALALYSMY* 96			
(40)	WYCHODZILYSMY 94			
(50)		POPATRZYLYSMY 98		
(54)	stediała 98			
(55)	patrzyła 98			
(57)	ZDAWAŁA 94			
(61)		PODESZLYSMY 98		
(62)		ZATRZYMALYSMY 100		
(63)		SPLOSZYŁO 100		
(64)		RZUCIŁA 98		
(65)		PORWAŁA* 98		
(66)		UJAWNIL 100		
(67)		chwyciła* 102		
(68)		CHWYCILA* 106		
(70)		ZACZEŁA 98		
(71)		ZACZEŁYSMY 98		
(72)				ZROBI96
(73)		POCZESTOWAŁA 100		
(74)		USPOKIŁO 96		

(77)		POSTAWIŁA 100
(78)		PIERZCHNEŁO 100
(80)		ZMIESZAŁA 100
(81)		UCIEKŁA 94
(85)		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100
(86)	SIEDZIAŁAM 96	
(88)		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100
(93)	biegala/biegła* 92	
(94)	rzucala 90	
(95)	obserwowała* 92	
(96)	rozglądała 94	
(101)		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100
(103)	miescił 100	
(104)		usiadła* 96
(106)		ZAMARŁA 98
(108)	SIEDZIAŁA 100	
(109)	OBSERWOWAŁA 100	
(110)	KUSIŁO 100	
(112)		PRZYSZEDŁ 100
(116)		ZACZEŁA 100
(117)		ZAPOMNIAŁAM 100
(119)		ZBLIŻYŁA 98
(120)		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100
(122)	PALAŁY 90	
(124)		ZAUWAZYŁAM 100
(125)	siedziala 90	
(144)		WYTRZYMAŁA 100
(148)		ZOSTAŁA 100
(152)		WESZLYSMY 100
(153)		ZACZEŁA 98
(154)		OKAZAŁO 100
(155)	OBSERWOWAŁAM 96	
(156)	OBSERWOWAŁA 98	
(158)		PODESZŁA* 98
(159)		ZBLIŻYŁA 100
(160)		usiadła 92

(161)	powiedziała 90
(165)	ZAUWAZYŁA 92
(166)	ZAUWAZYŁA 96
(169)	UTRZYMYWAŁA 94
(171)	PODESZŁO 100
(172)	UJEŁO 96
(173)	ZACZEŁO 100
(174)	POWIEDZIAŁA 100
(175)	UCIEKŁA 100

T Group

	PAST	NON-PAST	OTHER	OTHER
(2)	CHCIAŁAM 92			
(3)	CHCIAŁAM 90			
(10)	CHCIAŁAM 98			
(14)	BYŁO 96			
(15)	wiedziałam 94			
(19)	MIĄŁA 98			
(29)	BYŁY 96			
(32)	BYŁO 98			
(34)	MOGLYSMY 100			
(41)	BYŁO 100			
(52)	BYŁA 100			
(60)	zjadła 98			
(79)	ZAGINAŁ* 100			
(84)	BYŁO 100			
(90)	bawiła 90			
(91)	uczestniczyła 90			
(99)	CHCIAŁAM 98			
(113)	NOSIŁAM* 98			
(114)	BYŁA 100			
(115)	BYŁO 96			
(118)	BYŁO 100			
(123)	BYŁO 96			
(127)	UCZESTNICZYŁA 98			

(128)	BYŁO 98
(131)	MUSIAŁO 100
(133)	POTRAFIŁAM# 98
(134)	POTRAFIŁAM# 98
(145)	WIEDZIAŁAM 98
(149)	BYŁA 100
(150)	KAZAŁA# 96
(157)	DRZEMAŁA 100

A Group

IMPERFECTIVE

PERFECTIVE

(4)		SPEDZIC 100
(5)		WYJECHAC 92
(6)		ODPOCZAC 100
(11)		ZROBIC 98
(18)		NAMOWIC 100
(21)		WYKORZYSTAC 100
(24)	WEDROWAC# 94	
(25)		ZAKWOTWICZYC* 90
(31)		ZNALEZC 100
(35)		PORADZIC 98
(39)	CHODZIC* 104	
(132)		ZAJSC 100
(135)		ZDAC 100
(141)	WYPYTYWAC 100	
(151)		USIASC 100

APPENDIX P-6
SLOTS WITH HIGH VARIATION

T&A Group

	PAST	NON-PAST	OTHER	OTHER
9	dawałam 29	DALAM 7 1	daje 0	dajac 2
22	namawiałam 48	NAMOWILAM 54	namawiam 0	namowie 2
27	jechałyśmy 8	POJECHALYSMY 88	jeżdżemy 0	pojedziemy 4
38	LUBILYSMY 56	polubiliśmy 40	lubimy 8	
42	WRACALYSMY 81	wrociliśmy 17	wracamy 0	wracając 2
43	WRACALYSMY 85	wrociliśmy 15	wracamy 0	
44	zbliżaliśmy 88	zblizyliśmy 10	ZBLIZAMY 2	zblizymy 2
45	widzieliśmy 6	zobaczyliśmy 88	WIDZIMY 4	widzac 2
46	siedziała 35	usiadła 8	SIEDZI 58	
47	siedziała 69	usiadła 12	SIEDZI 19	siedzaca 2
51	zbliżaliśmy 0	zblizyliśmy* 88	ZBLIZAMY 12	nie zbliżalo(P) 2
53	patrzyła 73	popatrzyła 25	PATRZY 2	
56	reagowała 29	zreagowała 71	REAGUJE 2	
59	SMAKOWAŁA 87	zasmakowała 12	smakuje 6	
69	trzymała 87	pottrzymała* 4	TRZYMA 10	przytrzymała(P) 2
75	ZDAWAŁO 81	zdalo* 19	zdaje 0	wydalo(P) 2
82	pojawiała 13	POJAWIŁA 87	pokazywał 2	
83	WIDZIAŁYSMY 72	zobaczyliśmy 28	widziemy 0	
87	ZWRACAŁAM 52	zwrocilam 48	zwracam 0	
89	zachowywała 42	zachowała 0	ZACHOWUJE 58	
92	oderwała 88	oderwała 4	ODRYWA 8	
97	wracała 81	wrocila 13	WRACA 4	
102	zaczynała 8	zaczela 31	ZACZYNA 62	
105	siedziała 49	USIADLA* 51	usiadzi 0	siadla*(P) 2
107	ruszała 75	RUSZYŁA 25	rusza 0	
111	fascynowało 6	ZAFASCYNOWAŁO 71	fascynuje 23	
126	siedziała 42	USIADLA 58	siedzi 0	siedzac 2
130	wyczuwałam* 35	WYCZULAM 67	wyczuje 0	czulam(I) 6
136	chodziło* 52	poszło 19	CHODZI 33	szlo(I) 2

137	zaczynala 40	ZACZEŁA 62	zaczyna 0	
138	POZOSTAWAŁAM 71	pozostałam 29	pozostaje 0	
139	MOWIŁA 85	powiedziała 21	mówi 0	
146	dusiła 23	zduśiła 0	DUSI 77	
162	czuła 44	(WY/PO)CZUŁA 56	czuje 0	
163	obserwowała 44	zaobserwowała 0	OBSERWUJE 56	
164	spoglądała 13	SPOJRZAŁA 85	spogląda 0	spoglądając 2
167	zdawała 46	zdala* 50	ZDAJE 8	spozstrzegła(P) 2
168	przerwała 62	PRZERWAŁA 40	przerwa 0	

T Group

	PAST	NON-PAST	OTHER	OTHER
13	MIAŁA 87	ma 12	bedzie miała 2	
16	MIAŁA 52	ma 38	bede miała 10	miałabym 2
23	miałysmy 52	MAMY 46		
48	trzymała 75	TRZYMA 23	trzymając 4	
49	zajadała 79	ZAJADA 23		
58	bylismsy 73	JESTESMY 29		
76	było 58	JEST 42	bedzie 2	
98	bawiła 79	BAWI 10	bawiąc 2	bawie 10
121	BYŁO 87	jest 13	ma 2	
129	było 71	JEST 27		
140	miałam 48	MAM 52	miewam(I) 2	
142	chcieli 31	CHCA 63	chcieliby 6	
147	gnębilo 27	GNĘBI 69	chowa 4	
170	spala 27	SPI 73		

A Group

100	OBSERWOWAC 65	zaobserwować 33	obserwowałam 2
143	ujawniac 40	UJAWNIC 62	

APPENDIX P-7
NARRATIVE FUNCTION AND POINT OF VIEW

#	Plot	Description	Flashback	Interaction	Gloss
(1)		zapowiadała sie<pl>			promised
(2)		chciałam<Pl>			wanted
(3)		chciałam<Pl>			wanted
(4)		spędzić<p>			to spend
(5)		wyjechać<p>			go
(6)		odpocząć<p>			take it easy
(7)	spozniam<pp>				put off
(8)	spelzły<pp>				fell through
(9)		nie dalać<pp>			didn't give up
(10)		chciałam<Pl>			wanted
(11)		zrobić<p>			to take
(12)	okazało<pp>				turned out
(13)		miała<Pl>			had
(14)		było<Pl>			was
(15)				wiem<NI>	know
(16)				miała<Pl>	had
(17)	postanowiłam<pp>				decided
(18)	namowić<p>				talk into
(19)		miała<Pl>			had
(20)	postanowiłam<pp>				decided
(21)	wykorzystać<p>				take advantage
(22)				namowić<pp>	talked into
(23)				mamy<NI>	have
				moglibyśmy<mod>	could
(24)				wędrować<f>	wander
				moglibyśmy<mod>	could
(25)				zakotwiczyć<p>	drop anchor
(26)	zdecydowaliśmy<pp>				decided
(27)	pojechaliśmy<pp>				went
(28)	wylądowaliśmy<pp>				landed
(29)		były<Pl>			were
(30)	udało się<pp>				succeeded

(31)	<i>znalezc<p></i>		finding
(32)	<i>bylo<PI></i>		was
(33)	<i>zakwaterowalysmy<pp></i>		got registered
(34)	<i>nie mogliysmy<PI></i>		weren't able
(35)	<i>poradzc<p></i>		to set up
(36)	<i>skorzystalysmy<pp></i>		took advantage
		<i>wiesz<NI></i>	you know
(37)	<i>opalalysmy<pi></i>		catch rays
(38)	<i>lubilysmy<pi></i>		liked
(39)	<i>chodzic<i></i>		going
(40)	<i>wychodzilyysmy<pi></i>		would walk
		<i>pamietam<NI></i>	I remember
(41)	<i>bylo<PI></i>		was
(42)		<i>wracalysmy<pi></i>	were returning
(43)		<i>wracalysmy<pi></i>	were returning
(44)	<i>zblizamy<ni></i>		are coming up
(45)	<i>widzimy<ni></i>		see
(46)	<i>siedzi<ni></i>		is sitting
		<i>rozumiesz<NI></i>	you understand
(47)	<i>siedzi<ni></i>		is sitting
(48)	<i>trzymam<NI></i>		holding
(49)	<i>zajadam<NI></i>		chowing down
(50)	<i>popatrzylismy<pp></i>		looked
(51)	<i>zblizamy<ni></i>		move closer
(52)	<i>byla<PI></i>		was
		<i>wiesz<NI></i>	you know
(53)	<i>patrzy<ni></i>		is looking
(54)	<i>siedzi<ni></i>		is sitting
		<i>wiesz<NI></i>	you know
(55)	<i>patrzy<ni></i>		is looking
(56)	<i>nie reaguje<ni></i>		doesn't react
(57)		<i>zdawalam<pi></i>	did not realize
(58)	<i>jestesmy<NI></i>		are
(59)		<i>smakowalam<pi></i>	appealed
(60)	<i>zajadam<NI></i>		chowing down
		<i>wiesz<NI></i>	you know

(61)		podeszlyśmy<pp>	had approached
(62)		zatrzymaliśmy<pp>	had stopped
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(63)	spłoszyło<pp>		started
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(64)	rzuciła<pp>		threw
(65)	porwała<pp>		took to her heels
(66)	ujawnił<pp>		manifested
(67)	pochwyciła<pp>		grabbed
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(68)	chwyciła<pt>		took
(69)	trzyma<ni>		is holding
(70)	zaczęła<pp>		started
		wiesz<NI>	you know
	miotać się<↳>		struggle
	krzyknąć<↳>		shout
(71)	zaczęliśmy<pp>		started
	spokoić<↳>		calm down
	nie dzieje się<NI>		nothing is happening
(72)	zrobić<np>		won't do anything
	nie będziemy karac<fi>		won't punish
(73)		poczęstowała<pp>	had helped herself
(74)		uspokoiło<pp>	had calmed
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(75)	zdawało<pt>		seemed
(76)	jest<NI>		is calm/convinced
	nie będziemy krzywdzić <fi>		won't hurt
	nie będzie uciekać<fi>		won't escape
(77)	postawiła<pp>		put
(78)	pierzchnęło<pp>		took off
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(79)	zaginal<pp>		disappeared
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(80)	zmieszala<pp>		mixed
(81)	uciekła<pp>		escaped

(82)	nie pojawiła się<pp>		didn't show up
(83)	nie widzieliśmy<pi>		didn't see
		nie wiem<NI>	I don't know
(84)	było<PI>		was
(85)	zauważyłam<pp>		noticed
		wiesz <NI>	you know
		pamiętam<ni>	I remember
(86)	siedziałam<pi>		was sitting
(87)	nie zwracałam<pi>		not paying attention
(88)	zauważyłam<pp>		noticed(89)
(89)	zachowuje<ni>		was behaving
(90)	bawi<NI>		is playing
(91)	uczestniczy<NI>	isn't participating	
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(92)	odrywa<ni>		breaks away
(93)	biegnie<ni>		runs
	widac		you can see
(94)	rzuca<ni>		glances about
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(95)	obserwuje<ni>		is observing
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(96)	rozgląda<ni>		looks around
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(97)	wraca<ni>		returns
(98)	bawi<NI>		plays
(99)	chciałam<PI>		wanted
(100)	obserwować<i>		to observe
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(101)	zauważyłam<pp>		noticed
(102)	zaczyna<ni>		started
	zblizac się<i>		get closer
		wspomniałam<pp>	I mentioned
(103)		miesci<ni>	is located
(104)	siadła<pp>		sat
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(105)	usiadła<pp>		had sat

(106)	zamarła<pp>		froze
		wiesz<NI>	you know
		nie wiem<NI>	I don't know
(107)	ruszyła<pp>		did not move
(108)	siedziała<pi>		sat
(109)	obserwowała<pi>		observed
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(110)	kusilo<pi>		was tempted
	sprawdzić<p>		to check out
(111)		zafascynowało<pp>	had fascinated
		nie pamiętam <ni>	I don't remember
(112)	przyszeli<pp>		dropped by
(113)	nosilam<PI>		was planning
(114)	była<PI>		was absorbed
(115)	było<PI>		was strange
(116)	zaczęła<pp>		started
(117)	zapomniałam<pp>		forgot
(118)	było<PI>		was surprised
(119)	zblżyła<pp>		approached
	prowadzić<ppart>		leading
(120)	zauważyłam<pp>		I noticed
(121)	było<PI>		was animated
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(122)	pałaly<pi>		were alight
(123)	było<PI>		was
(124)	zauważyłam<pp>		noticed
(125)	usiadła<pp>		sat
(126)	usiadła<pp>		sat
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(127)	uczestniczyła<PI>		was taking part
(128)	widac było<PI>		could tell
(129)	jest<NI>		was
(130)	wyczułam<pp>		felt
(131)		musiało<PI>	must
(132)		zajsc<p>	have happened
		wiesz<NI>	you know

(133)	nie potrafilam<P?>		wasn't able
(134)	nie potrafilam<P?>		wasn't able
(135)	<i>zdac<p></i>		to determine
(136)	<i>chodzi<nt></i>		happened/going on
(137)	nie zaczynała<pi> <i>mowić<ł></i>		didn't start to talk
(138)	pozostawalam<pt>	remained	
(139)	nie mowila<pi>		wasn't saying
(140)	nie mam<NI>		am not
(141)	<i>wypytywac<ł></i>		grilling
		nie wiem<NI>	I don't know
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(142)	nie chca<NI>		don't want
(143)	<i>ujawnic<p></i>		to reveal
(144)	nie wytrzymała<pp>		gave in
(145)	wiedzialam<PI>		knew
(146)	<i>dusi<nt></i>		was keeping
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(147)	<i>gnebi<NI></i>		was bothering
(148)	zostala<pp>		burst
(149)	byla<PI>		was
(150)	kazala<P?>		told
(151)	<i>usiase<p></i>		to sit
(152)	weszlyśmy<pp>		went
(153)	zaczela<pp> <i>opowiadac<ł></i>		started to tell
(154)		okazalo sie<pp>	turned out
(155)	obserwowalam<pi>		was observing
(156)	obserwowala<pi>		was observing
		sie okazalo?<pp>	what happened?
(157)	drzemala<PI>		was napping
(158)	podeszla<pp>		approached
(159)	zblizyla<pp>		got closer
(160)	siedziala<pi>		was sitting
(161)	mowi<ni>		says
(162)		poczula<pp>	felt

(163)	obserwuje<ni>		was watching
		wiesz<NI>	you know
(164)	spojrzala<pp>		looked
(165)	zauwazyla<pp>		noticed
(166)	nie zauwazyla<pp>		did not notice
(167)	zdaje<ni>		was aware
(168)	nie przerwala<pp>		did not stop
(169)	utrzymywała<pi>		pretended
(170)	spi<NI>		was sleeping
		wiesz<NI>	you know
		sie stalo?<pp>	what happened?
		wyobraz sobie<c>	imagine
(171)	podeszlo<pp>		went up to
(172)	ujelo<pp>		took
(173)	zaczelo<pp>		started
	nazywac<p>		call/name
(174)	powiedziala<pp>		told
(175)		uciekla <pp>	had escaped

APPENDIX P-8
BREAKDOWN OF DISCOURSE FUNCTION

Plot (65 Verbs)

(7)	spoznilam<pp>	put off
(8)	spelzly<pp>	fell through
(12)	okazalo<pp>	turned out
(17)	postanowilam<pp>	decided
(20)	postanowilam<pp>	decided
(26)	zdecydowalysmy<pp>	decided
(27)	pojechalysmy<pp>	went
(28)	wyladowalysmy<pp>	landed
(30)	udalo sie<pp>	succeeded
(33)	zakwarterowalysmy<pp>	got registered
(36)	skorzystalysmy<pp>	took advantage
(44)	zblizamy<ni>	are coming up
(45)	widzimy<ni>	see
(50)	popatrzylymsy<pp>	looked
(51)	zblizamy<ni>	move closer
(63)	sploszylo<pp>	started
(64)	rzucila<pp>	threw
(65)	porwala<pp>	took to her heels
(66)	ujawnil<pp>	manifested
(67)	pochwycila<pp>	grabbed
(68)	chwycila<pp>	took
(70)	zaczela<pp>	started
(71)	zaczelymsy<pp>	started
(77)	postawila<pp>	put
(78)	pierzchnelo<pp>	took off
(79)	zaginal<pp>	disappeared
(80)	zmieszala<pp>	mixed
(81)	uciekla<pp>	escaped
(82)	nie pojawila sie<pp>	didn't show up
(83)	nie widzialysmy<pi>	didn't see
(85)	zauwazylam<pp>	noticed
(88)	zauwazylam<pp>	noticed

(101)	zauwazyłam<pp>	noticed
(102)	zaczyna<ni>	started
(104)	siadła<pp>	sat
(105)	usiadła<pp>	had sat
(106)	zamarła<pp>	froze
(112)	przyszedł<pp>	dropped by
(116)	zaczęła<pp>	started
(117)	zapomniałam<pp>	forgot
(119)	zblżyła<pp>	approached
(120)	zauwazyłam<pp>	I noticed
(124)	zauwazyłam<pp>	noticed
(125)	usiadła<pp>	sat
(126)	usiadła<pp>	sat
(127)	uczestniczyła<Pi>	was taking part
(130)	wyczulam<pp>	felt
(133)	nie potrafilam<P?>	wasn't able
(134)	nie potrafilam<P?>	wasn't able
(144)	nie wytrzymała<pp>	gave in
(148)	została<pp>	burst
(150)	kazała<P?>	told
(152)	weszliśmy<pp>	went
(153)	zaczęła<pp>	started
(158)	podeszła<pp>	approached
(159)	zblżyła<pp>	got closer
(161)	mowi<ni>	says
(164)	spojrzała<pp>	looked
(165)	zauwazyła<pp>	noticed
(166)	nie zauwazyła<pp>	did not notice
(169)	utrzymywała<pi>	pretended
(171)	podeszło<pp>	went up to
(172)	ujęło<pp>	took
(173)	zaczęło<pp>	started
(174)	powiedziała<pp>	told
(18)	<i>namowić<p></i>	talk into
(21)	<i>wykorzystać<p></i>	take advantage

(31)	<i>znalezc<p></i>	finding
(72)	<i>zrobi<np></i>	won't do anything
(135)	<i>zdac<p></i>	to determine
(136)	<i>chodzi<ni></i>	happened/going on
(151)	<i>usiadc<p></i>	to sit
	<i>zblizac sie<i></i>	get closer
	<i>prowadzac<ppart></i>	leading
	<i>opowiadac<i></i>	to tell
	<i>nazywac<p></i>	call/name

Description (74 Verbs)

(1)	<i>zapowiadala sie<pt></i>	promised
(2)	<i>chcialam<PI></i>	wanted
(3)	<i>chcialam<PI></i>	wanted
(9)	<i>nie dalam<pp></i>	didn't give up
(10)	<i>chcialam<PI></i>	wanted
(13)	<i>miala<PI></i>	had
(14)	<i>bylo<PI></i>	was
(19)	<i>miala<PI></i>	had
(29)	<i>byly<PI></i>	were
(32)	<i>bylo<PI></i>	was
(34)	<i>nie mogliśmy<PI></i>	weren't able
(37)	<i>opalaliśmy<pt></i>	catch rays
(38)	<i>lubiłymi<pt></i>	liked
(40)	<i>wychodziliśmy<pt></i>	would walk
(41)	<i>bylo<PI></i>	was
(46)	<i>siedzi<ni></i>	is sitting
(47)	<i>siedzi<ni></i>	is sitting
(48)	<i>trzyma<NI></i>	holding
(49)	<i>zajada<NI></i>	chowing down
(52)	<i>byla<PI></i>	was
(53)	<i>patrzy<ni></i>	is looking
(54)	<i>siedzi<ni></i>	is sitting
(55)	<i>patrzy<ni></i>	is looking
(56)	<i>nie reaguje<ni></i>	doesn't react

(58)	jestesmy <NI>	are
(60)	zajada <NI>	chowing down
(69)	trzyma<ni>	is holding
(75)	zdawalo<pi>	seemed
(76)	jest <NI>	is calm/convinced
(84)	bylo<PI>	was
(86)	siedzialam<pi>	was sitting
(87)	nie zwracalam<pi>	not paying attention
(89)	zachowuje <ni>	was behaving
(90)	bawi <NI>	is playing
(91)	uczestniczy <NI>	isn't participating
(92)	odrywa <ni>	breaks away
(93)	biegnie <ni>	runs
(94)	rzuca <ni>	glances about
(95)	obserwuje <ni>	is observing
(96)	rozcłada <ni>	looks around
(97)	wraca <ni>	returns
(98)	bawi <NI>	plays
(99)	chcialam<PI>	wanted
(107)	ruszyła<pp>	did not move
(108)	siedziała<pi>	sat
(109)	obserwowała<pi>	observed
(110)	kusilo<pi>	was tempted
(113)	nosilam<PI>	was planning
(114)	była<PI>	was absorbed
(115)	było<PI>	was strange
(118)	było<PI>	was surprised
(121)	było<PI>	was animated
(122)	palaly<pi>	were alight
(123)	było<PI>	was
(128)	widac bylo<PI>	could tell
(129)	<i>jest</i> <NI>	was
(137)	nie zaczynala<pi>	didn't start
(138)	pozostawalam<pi>	remained
(139)	nie mowila<pi>	wasn't saying
(140)	nie mam<NI>	am not

(142)	nie chca<NI>	don't want
(145)	wiedzialam<PI>	knew
(146)	dusi<nt>	was keeping
(147)	gnebi<NI>	was bothering
(149)	byla<PI>	was
(155)	obserwowałam<pi>	was observing
(156)	obserwowała<pi>	was observing
(157)	drzemala<PI>	was napping
(160)	siedziala<pi>	was sitting
(163)	obserwuje<ni>	was watching
(167)	zdaje<nt>	was aware
(168)	nie przerwała<pp>	did not stop
(170)	spi<NI>	was sleeping
(4)	spedzic<p>	to spend
(5)	wyjechac<p>	go
(6)	odpoczac<p>	take it easy
(11)	zrobic<p>	to take
(35)	poradzic<p>	to set up
(39)	chodzic<i>	going
(100)	obserwowac<i>	to observe
(141)	wypytywac<i>	grilling
(143)	ujawnic<p>	to reveal
	miotac sie<i>	struggle
	krzyzciec<i>	shout
	spokoc<i>	calm down
	nie dzieje sie<NI>	nothing is happening
	nie bedziemy karac<fi>	won't punish
	nie bedziemy krzywdzic <fi>	won't hurt
	nie bedzie uciekac<fi>	won't escape
	widac	you can see
	sprawdzic<p>	to check out
	mowic<i>	to talk

	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	nie wiem<NI>	I don't know
	wiesz <NI>	you know
	pamiętam<nt>	I remember
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wspomniałam<pp>	I mentioned
(103)	<i>miesci</i> <nt>	is located
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	nie wiem<NI>	I don't know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	nie pamiętam <nt>	I don't remember
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	nie wiem<NI>	I don't know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
(154)	okazało się<pp>	turned out
	się okazało?<pp>	what happened?
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	wiesz<NI>	you know
	się stało?<pp>	what happened?
	wyobraź sobie<c>	imagine
(24)	<i>wedrować</i> <I>	wander
(25)	<i>zakotwiczyć</i> <p>	drop anchor

APPENDIX J-1
JAPANESE TEXT

(Text adapted with permission from Sawako Agawa's "Uetoresu no hokori [Pride of a Waitress]". In *Nihongo Journal* 1997 Vol 12. Tokyo: ALC Press. 81-85. In some cases only part of the verb is numbered and in boldface. In several places, for example, only the **aru** portion of **de aru** is in boldface.)

Kinjo ni ima yoo no resutoran ga **(1) DEKITA** node nozoki ni **(2) ITTE MITA**. Mada oopun shita bakari rashiku, kyaku wa mabara de **(3) ARU**. Seki ni tsuku to,

"Anoo, mada o-nomimono dake shika dekinain desu ga..."

Ikanimo gakusei arubaito-fuu no wakai ueitoresu ga yatte kite, sumanasoo ni pekorito atama o **(4) SAGETA**.

"Ja, aisu kafe ore"

Suruto, ueitoresu-joo wa matamoya kao o kumorasete,

"Eeto, aisu kafe ore wa..."

ushiro wo furimuute jooshi ni ukagai wo **(5) TATETE IRU**. Mamonaku, jooshi ga yubi de wa wo tsukuri, "ooke" no sain o okutte kuru to, yooyaku,

"Dekiru soo desu."

Tokuige ni **(6) HOHOENDA**.

Nantomo tayorinasasoo de wa **(7) ATTA** keredo, uiuishikute **(8) II**. Kongo, kono mise no hatten no tame ni, doo ka hitotsu ganbatte choodai to, seien o okuritaku naru yoona onnanoko **(9) DATTA**.

Suu-shuukan-go, futatabi sono mise wo otozurete miru to, okyaku wa man'in, juugyooin no kazu mo fue, nakanaka no hanjoo-buri de **(10) ARU**. Seki wo mitsuke, menyuu o **(11) HIRAKU**. Mamonaku ueitoresu no hitori ga **(12) YATTE KITA**. Zenkai no ueitoresu to wa chigau josei de **(13) ARU**.

"Go-chuumon ga o-kimari deshoo ka."

"Iya, chotto mada...zuibun ryoori no shurui ga aru kara mayotchau wa nee."

To, kao o ageru to, ueitoresu-joo, jitsu ni nikoyaka ni **(14) HOHOENDE WA IRU** keredo, watashi no kotoba ni hannoo suru yoosu wa naku, sukasazu,

"O-kimari ni narimashitara, oyobi kudasai"

To hayakuchi ni itte **(15) SATTE ITTA**.

Soshite, yooyaku chuumon to iu hakobi ni natta toki wa, **(16) MOTTE ITA** dentaku(nan to iu meishou ka **(17) WAKARANAI** ga, hinmei to kosuu wo kinyuu dekiru shikumi ni natte iru **(18) RASHII**) o pippitto oshi, tegiwa yoku

chuumonhyoo o sakusei suru to,

"De wa, okurikesasete itadakimasu. Koonsuupu hitotsu,
biifuchirisoosu hitotsu.."

Sore kara,

"Ijoo de yoroshii deshou ka. De wa, Shooshoo o-machi kudasai."

Sara ni, ryoori ga desorou to,

"Go-chumon no shina wa soroimashita deshoo ka.

De wa, doozo go-yukkuri"

To-kingumashin de **(19) ARU**. Tochuu de shitsumon wo hasamitaku demo hasameru fun'iki de wa nai hodo no ikoi de, Ikkikasei ni **(20) MAKUSHITATERU**. Sara ni odoraita koto ni wa, mawari no te-buru wo miwatasu to, dono ueitoresu-san mo onaji serifu, onaji egao, onaji eshaku de chuumon o **(21) TOTTE ITA**.

APPENDIX J-2
TRANSLATION OF JAPANESE TEXT

Because a modern-style restaurant **(1)had opened up** in the neighborhood, I **(2)went** there to check it out. It looked like it had just opened for business, and there **(3)weren't** very many customers. When I sat down, a waitress, no doubt a student working part time, came up to my table and **(4)lowered** her head almost apologetically.

"We're still only serving drinks."

And when I asked,

"Well, I'd like an Iced Cafe Au Lait?"

her face clouded up and she looked back over her shoulder and **(5)cast** a questioning look at the manager. He soon gave her an OK sign, and she finally **(6)smiled** triumphantly,

"It looks like we can do that."

She **(7)looked** to be a waitress you couldn't really depend on, but her lack of sophistication **(8)was nice**, and she **(9)was** the kind of girl you wanted to give words of encouragement to.

Several weeks later when I went back, the restaurant was crowded, there were more people working there, and it **(10)seemed** to be doing well. I found a table and **(11)opened** up the menu. Shortly, a waitress **(12)came**. She **(13)was** a different waitress than the one from my first visit.

"Have you decided on something?"

"Mm...not yet. There are so many things on the menu, it's hard to decide."

But, when I looked up, the waitress **(14)was smiling** brightly, but without commenting on my remark, promptly **(15)left**, saying,

"Please call me when you have decided."

Then, I was finally ready, she pressed a few buttons on the calculator which she **(16)was carrying** (I **(17)don't know** the actual name for it; it **(18)looks like** a little device into which you enter the orders.), and quickly entered my order.

"Let me repeat your order. That'll be a Corn Soup, a Beef with Chili Sauce,..."

Then,

"Will that be all? I'll be back with your meal shortly."

After which, when she had brought my order,

"Is everything alright? Please enjoy your meal."

She **(19)was** a "talking machine". Even if you wanted to ask something, you couldn't because she **(20)rattled off** her lines so quickly. I was doubly surprised when I looked around. All the other waitresses **(21)were taking** orders the same way: with the same lines, same smiling faces, and in the same manner.

APPENDIX J-3
COMBINED RESULTS

1	DEKITA 96	dekite ita 4	dekiru 0	dekite iru 0
2	MITA 96		miru 4	
3	atta 96		ARU 4	
4	SAGETA 98	sagete ita 2	sageru 0	sagete iru 0
5	tateta 13	tatete ita 54	tateru 9	TATETE IRU 24
6	HOGOENDA 91	hohoende ita 7	hohoemu 0	hohoende iru 2
7	ATTA 83		aru 17	
8	yokatta 83		II 17	
9	DATTA 98		da 2	
10	atta 85		ARU 15	
11	hiraite 78	hiraite ita 7	HIRAKU 15	hiraite iru 0
12	KITA 96	kite ita 0	kuru 4	kite iru 0
13	atta 87		ARU 13	
14		hohoende ita 72		HOGOENDE IRU 28
15	SATTEITTA 100	sattette ita 0	satteiku 0	sattette iru 0
16	motta 0	MOTTE ITA 72	motsu 0	motte iru 28
17	wakarnakatta 37		WAKARANAI 63	
18	rashikatta 20		RASHII 78	
			yoonamono 2	
19	atta 67		ARU 33	
20	makushitateta 4	imakushitatete ita 48	MAKUSHITATERU 9	makushitate iru 2
21	totta 0	TOTTE ITA 91	toru 0	totte iru 2
		totte ita no dearu 2		
		totte iru no datta 2		
		totte ita koto da 2		

APPENDIX J-4
WRITER'S CHOICES

1	DEKITA 96	
2	MITA 96	
3		ARU 4
4	SAGETA 98	
5		TATETE IRU 24
6	HOGOENDA 91	
7	ATTA 83	
8		II 17
9	DATTA 98	
10		ARU 15
11		HIRAKU 15
12	KITA 96	
13		ARU 13
14		HOGOENDE IRU 28
15	SATTE ITTA 100	
16	MOTTE ITA 72	
17		WAKARANAI 63
18		RASHII 78
19		ARU 33
20		MAKUSHITATERU 9
21	TOTTE ITA 91	

APPENDIX J-5
RESPONDENTS' CHOICES

1	DEKITA 96		
2	MITA 96		
3	atta 96		
4	SAGETA 98		
5		tatete ita 54	
6	HOGOENDA 91		
7	ATTA 83		
8	yokatta 83		
9	DATA 98		
10	atta 85		
11	hiraita 78		
12	KITA 96		
13	atta 87		
14		hohoende ita 72	
15	SATTE ITTA 100		
16		MOTTE ITA 72	
17			WAKARANAI 63
18			RASHII 78
19	atta 67		
20		makushitatete ita 48	
21		TOTTE ITA 91	

APPENDIX J-6
NARRATIVE FUNCTION AND POINT OF VIEW

#	Plot	Description	Flashback	Interaction	Gloss
1			DEKITA		had opened
2	MITA				went
3		ARU			weren't
4	SAGETA				lowered
5	TATETE IRU				cast
6	HOGOENDA				smiled
7		ATTA			looked
8				II	was nice
9		DATTA			was
10		ARU			seemed
11	HIRAKU				opened up
12	KITA				came
13		ARU			was
14		HOGOENDE IRU			was smiling
15	SATTE ITTA				left
16			MOTTE ITA		was carrying
17				WAKARANAI	don't know
18				RASHII	looks like
19				ARU	was
20				MAKUSHITATERU	rattled off
21		TOTTE ITA			were taking

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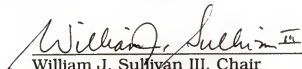
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

David Bogdan was born in Lima, Ohio, on June 18, 1957. After completing high school in St. Petersburg, Florida, he entered Georgia Institute of Technology and later transferred to Rollins College. Following this, he transferred to the University of Florida, where he went on to receive a B.S. in mathematics, a B.A. in Russian/Slavic, and an M.A. in linguistics. He has spent three separate years in Poland: twice on an exchange program between the University of Florida and Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza in Poznan and once on a Fulbright research grant to Uniwersytet Jagiellonski in Cracow.

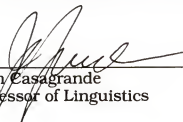
He has worked as a substitute math/science teacher in California and as a full-time high school math teacher in Pinellas County, FL. At present, he is an associate professor in the College of Business Administration of Matsuyama University in Matsuyama, Japan.

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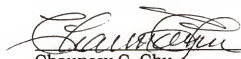
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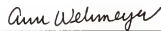
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Program in Linguistics in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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